Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents

Compiled and Edited by

G. ALLANA

PUBLISHERS :

PARADISE SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY

Bonus Road, Karachi-4

— G. Allana
Pak Movement

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First Edition : August 1967

Second Edition : May 1968

Printed by Nawa-i-Waqt Printers Ltd
Shambhunath Road, Saddar, Karachi

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Paradise Subscription Agency

3 - Bonus Road

KARACHI

To

my wife Jenubai

and our children

Mehrunissa, Pyar Ali and Sultana

Preface to the Second Edition

When I began my work on the biography of Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Father of our Nation, I looked around for books on our struggle for freedom, particularly old ones, which are now out of print, in order to make my book as comprehensive as possible. Recent books were available in our libraries, and they presented no problem. This search was rewarding, as I was able to lay my hands on some very valuable books and documents, some of which are so rare that only one known copy exists in the world today. I was soon able to add to my private library books on the subject matter of my study, and it is this collection that has been the basis of the present compilation. While going through these books, I was struck with the wealth of basic material on the political struggle of the Muslims of this sub-continent, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan. I thought it may prove useful, if some of these documents could be preserved in one book. I was encouraged in this venture by some of my friends, who are connected with our Universities, as they believed it would prove to be a useful book. I owe them a debt of gratitude for all the encouragement I received from them.

The word "Document" is comprehensive in its application and is used to denote a treaty; parliamentary proceedings; resolutions of parliaments and political parties; text of a speech; a political statement or writing; a sale, mortgage, or gift deed; a testament or a will; Governmental or administrative orders and appointments. It may even connote an old crumpled up paper in a forgotten corner. While search for documents is primarily a part of the work of a research student, circumstances that existed at the time and which were directly or indirectly responsible for a document to be written are mainly the concern of a historian. Without original documents, the work of a historian may well be hampered. It is with a view to make these easily available to persons interested in studying and understanding the history of the struggle for Pakistan that this book has been attempted.

Historic documents are national treasures, as also a source of inspiration. To recall them from time to time in school, college and public gatherings would help us to remember our past, and to spur us on in the present to greater dedication, with a view to lead our nation to a higher destiny in the future. To forget them would be to lose them, which would be a national loss.

This book is intended to inform the reader what its title implies; no more, no less. Selection of documents to be included in this book presented a difficult task. If the reader feels that a particular document should not have been excluded, the fault is entirely mine. Although the contents of this book do not exhaust the subject matter, yet they do certainly cover the field adequately. Some of them are undoubtedly milestones of "Pakistan Movement." Their collection, I venture to hope, will supply a long felt want in our national literature.

In the absence of authentic documents, mythical images get enshrined in the pages of history, and round them accumulate much fable and fiction, but little historical truth. Historic documents tabulated in this book in chronological order, it is hoped, will enable the reader to visualise for himself the unfolding of the drama of political struggle waged by the Muslim Nation of this sub-continent. On the surface there may appear to be no relationship that each event has with subsequent events, but deep down in their roots they all bear the stamp of a common origin.

The first edition of this book was favourably received by the public, for which I am grateful. This encouraged me to do further research on the subject. Consequently, this second enlarged and revised edition contains some historic documents, which did not appear in the first one.

G. Allana.

"Al-Barakat".
307, Garden West,
Karachi.

CONTENTS

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
1.	Sir Syed Ahmad Khan—Extracts from Speeches and Writings.	1882 to 1893	1
2.	Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk on Survival of Urdu Language.	1900	4
3.	Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk on Political Organisation of Muslims.	1905	4
4.	Address Presented to Lord Minto by H. H. Aga Khan, as Leader of Muslim Deputation, and Lord Minto's Reply.	1906	5
5.	Nawab Viqarul-Mulk's Address on the Occasion of Muslim Educational Conference, Dacca.	1906	21
6.	Resolution that brought into being the All-India Muslim League, Dacca.	1906	22
7.	Resolution of the Muslim League on its Objectives. ..	1907	23
8.	Office-Bearers of the All-India Muslim League	1908	23
9.	Lord Morley on Muslim Demand for Separate Electorates.	1909	24
10.	Resolution of the Muslim League on Cooperation between Hindus and Muslims.	1913	24
11.	Resolution of the Muslim League on its Goal.	1913	25
12.	The Lucknow Pact.	1916	25
13.	Memorandum of the Nineteen.	1916	33
14.	Resolution of the League, in Support of Congress-League Scheme of Reforms.	1917	40
15.	Memorandum of Kheiri Brothers to the Socialist International at Stockholm.	1917	48
16.	Aga Khan on Proposed Reforms.	1918	50

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
17.	Quaid-e-Azam's Letter to the Viceroy against the Rowlatt Bill.	1919	51
18.	Languages Used by Muslims in India.	1921	52
19.	Resolution of the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League on Criminal Law Ordinance.	1924	53
20.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Organising Workers and Peasants.	1924	54
21.	Resolution of the Annual Session of the League, on Introduction of Reforms in the Frontier Province.	1924	55
22.	Resolution of the Annual Session of the League, on the Reforms of 1919.	1924	55
23.	Resolution of the Annual Session of the League, on Indifferent Attitude of Kashmir Darbar towards Muslims.	1924	56
24.	Resolution of the Annual Sessions of the League on Hindu-Muslim Unity.	1924	56
25.	Resolution of the Annual Session of the League on asking Muslims to buy Swadeshi Cloth.	1924	57
26.	Resolution of the Annual Session of the League, regarding Indians in South Africa.	1924	57
27.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, Condemning Racial Policy of Government of South Africa.	1924	58
28.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Iraq.	1925	59
29.	Resolution of the Muslim League on Conciliation Boards.	1925	60
30.	Resolution of the Muslim League on Sind.	1925	60
31.	Resolution of the Muslim League on Urdu.	1925	61
32.	Resolution of the Muslim League on Cooperative Societies.	1925	61

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
33.	Resolution of the League on Muslims in Government Service.	1925	61
34.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Reforms in N.W.F.P.	1926	62
35.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi an the future Constitution of India.	1926	62
36.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on the National Convention.	1927	66
37.	Iqbal Resigns as Secretary of the All-India Muslim League.	1928	69
38.	Jinnah's Fourteen Points.	1929	70
39.	Maulana Mohammad Ali's Speech at the Round Table Conference.	1930	72
40.	Resolution of the Muslim League at Allahabad on the future Constitution of India.	1930	86
41.	Allama Iqbal on a Muslim State, Excerpts from his Presidential Address.	1930	87
42.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, appreciating the Work of the Muslim Delegation to the R.T.C.	1930	87
43.	Quaid-e-Azam's letters to Abdul Matin Choudhari, while in England in Political Retirement.	1931	88
44.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Prime Minister's Statement.	1931	93
45.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Condition of Muslims of Kashmir.	1931	94
46.	Iqbal on Rumoured Rift in Muslim League.	1932	95
47.	Communal Award by His Majesty's Government.	1932	95
48.	Supplementary Communal Award.	1932	112
49.	Iqbal's Statement on Communal Award.	1932	112

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
50.	Choudhary Rahmat Ali—"Now or Never".	1933	115
50A.	Choudhary Rahmat Ali—Three maps.	1933	120A
51.	Iqbal on results of Deliberations at the Round Table Conference.	1933	122
52.	Iqbal on Pan-Islamism.	1933	123
53.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, Requesting Quaid-e-Azam and the Aga Khan to bring about Muslim Unity.	1933	124
54.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim the League on Palestine.	1933	125
55.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Muslim Representation in Services.	1933	125
56.	Iqbal on Role of Muslim Delegates at the Round Table Conference.	1933	125
57.	Communal Representation in Services, Government Resolution.	1934	129
58.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, Electing Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as Hon. Secretary.	1936	135
59.	Resolution of the Muslim League on the Government of India Act, 1935.	1936	136
60.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, Appreciating the Quaid's Services in connection with Shahidganj Mosque.	1936	137
61.	Iqbal's Letters to Jinnah.	1936 to 1937	138
62.	Seats Captured in General Elections by Muslim League and the Congress.	1937	149
63.	Allama Iqbal's Statement on Palestine Problem.	1937	149
64.	Quaid-e-Azam's Presidential Address, Lucknow.	1937	152
65.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Shahidganj Mosque.	1937	163
66.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, the Independence Resolution.	1937	163

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
67.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Urdu Language.	1937	164
68.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Palestine.	1937	165
69.	Quaid's Letter to Mir Barkat Ali.	1937	167
70.	Nawab Ismail Khan's letter to Jawaharlal Nehru.	1937	168
71.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on National Guards.	1938	175
72.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Bande Matram.	1938	175
73.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Communal Riots.	1938	176
74.	Quaid-e-Azam to Subhas Chandra Bose, Basis of League-Congress Talks.	1938	176
75.	Correspondence between the Quaid and A.S. Khairi.	1938	177
76.	Jinnah-Bose Correspondence.	1938	183
77.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Palestine.	1938	193
78.	Resolution of Sind League Conference Condemning Congress.	1938	193
79.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, Condemning Balfour Declaration.	1938	187
80.	Extracts from Pirpur Report.	1938	188
81.	Resolution of the All-India League Appreciating Services of Maulana Shaukat Ali.	1938	203
82.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Death of Kamal Ataturk.	1938	204
83.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on the Death of Allama Iqbal.	1938	205
84.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Muslims of Burma.	1938	205
85.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Muslims in Indian States.	1939	206
86.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League opposing Federation.	1939	206

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
87.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League against Gandhi's Fast.	1939	207
88.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League against the Congress.	1939	208
89.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on the Fate of Muslims in Indian States.	1939	209
90.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on the Formation of National Guards.	1939	209
91.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Anti-Muslim Activities of Arya Samajists.	1939	210
92.	Resolution of Council of Muslim League, on Hofmeyr and Blackwell.	1939	211
93.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Indians in South Africa.	1939	211
94.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Indians in Ceylon.	1939	211
95.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Indians in Belgian Congo.	1939	212
96.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Palestine.	1939	212
97.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on the Palestine Fund.	1939	212
98.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Government of India Act, 1945.	1939	213
99.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Communal Disturbances	1939	214
100.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League demanding Separate Electorates.	1939	214
101.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Firing in Cawnpore.	1939	215
102.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Reforms in Baluchistan.	1939	216

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
103.	The Working Committee of the Resolution of All-India Muslim League on War Efforts.	1939	216
104.	Resolution of the League Working Committee on Viceroy's Statement.	1939	220
105.	Quaid-e-Azam's Letter to Gandhi.	1940	222
106.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League; Appointment of a Deputation to Visit England.	1940	224
107.	Resolution of the All-India League against Congress Rule.	1940	224
108.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Tribal Areas.	1940	225
109.	"Pakistan Resolution" of the Muslim League, Lahore, 23rd March, 1940.	1940	226
110.	Quaid-e-Azam's Presidential Address, Lahore Session.	1940	228
111.	Brief Summary of Speeches on Pakistan Resolution.	1940	248
112.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Viceroy's Statement.	1940	252
113.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League, on Organisation of Volunteers.	1940	255
114.	Resolution of the Working Committee of League on Viceroy's Statement.	1940	257
115.	Census of India, by Communities.	1941	259
116.	Census of India, by Population of Minorities in British India.	1941	260
117.	Census of India, Communal Distribution in the Punjab by Districts.	1941	261
118.	Census of India, Minorities in Indian States.	1941	262
119.	Census of India, Indian States and Agencies.	1941	263
120.	Census of India, Population in Jammu and Kashmir.	1941	265

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
121.	Census of India, Population in Bengal Districts.	1941	266
122.	Census of India, Population of Sind Districts.	1941	267
123.	Census of India, Population in Towns of Sind.	1941	268
124.	Census of India, Population by Districts of the Frontier Province.	1941	270
125.	Census of India, Population in Towns of Frontier Province.	1941	271
126.	Census of India, Population in Assam by Districts.	1941	273
127.	Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Letter to Quaid-e-Azam.	1941	274
128.	Quaid's Reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.	1941	276
129.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League.	1941	277
130.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Civil Disobedience.	1941	278
131.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Indians in Ceylon.	1941	279
132.	Resolution of All-India Muslim League on its Aims and Objects.	1941	280
133.	Quaid's Correspondence with Sir Abdoola Haroon.	1941	281
134.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Muslim States in Near East.	1941	284
135.	Resolution of the Muslim League against Civil Disobedience.	1941	284
136.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Iran.	1941	285
137.	Resolution of All-India League on Five-Year Plan for Muslims of India.	1941	286
138.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League against the Viceroy.	1941	287

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
139.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on Amery's Attitude.	1941	288
140.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on the Riots in India.	1941	291
141.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Iran.	1941	292
142.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Riots in C.P. and Madras.	1941	293
143.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on the Governor-Generals Executive Council.	1941	293
144.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on the Viceroy's Statement.	1941	294
145.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Japan's Entry into the War.	1941	297
146.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Muslims in Burma, Malaya and Singapore	1942	299
147.	Resolution of the Council of the Muslim League on Muslims of Kazakistan.	1942	299
148.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Non-Party Conference Proposals.	1942	299
149.	Quaid-e-Azam's Appeal for Funds.	1942	300
150.	"Cripps Proposals."	1942	302
151.	Resolution of the Council of the Muslim League on Indians in Burma, etc.	1942	304
152.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on Cripps' Proposals.	1942	305
153.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on Anti-Muslim Attitude of Congress.	1942	310

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
154.	Resolution of the Council of the Muslim League, regarding Arabs of Palestine.	1942	315
155.	Resolution of the Council of the Muslim League, on Muslims in Kashmir.	1942	316
156.	Resolution of the Council of Muslim League, Appreciating the Resolution of the Sind Assembly on Pakistan	1943	317
157.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Transvaal Bill.	1943	317
158.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, Appointing Women's Sub-Committee.	1943	318
159.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Self-Determination.	1943	319
160.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Zionist Propaganda.	1943	323
161.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Anti-Arab Propaganda in Palestine.	1943	323
162.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Italian Territories, Cerenacea, Lybia and Tripoli.	1943	324
163.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, on Attempt on the Life of Quaid-e-Azam.	1943	325
164.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on the Bengal Famine.	1943	325
165.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Lebanon's Independence.	1943	326
166.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Kashmir.	1943	327
167.	Resolution of the Council of the Muslim League, on the Muslim Demand for Pakistan.	1943	327
168.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League.	1943	328

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
169.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Committee of Action.	1943	329
170.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Prices of Commodities.	1943	330
171.	Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on Independence of Libya and Tripoli.	1943	330
172.	Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League.	1907 to 1943	331
173.	Quaid-e-Azam on Punjab Politics —the Unionist Party.	1944	333
174.	Quaid-e-Azam, Pakistan Day Message.	1944	336
175.	Quaid-e-Azam, on Failure of Jinnah-Khizr Talks.	1944	337
176.	Jinnah-Gandhi Correspondence,	1944	341
177.	Correspondence between the Quaid and Syed Ali Zaheer.	1944	375
178.	Quaid-e-Azam, Iqbal Day Message.	1944	379
179.	Lord Wavell, Radio Broadcast.	1945	381
180.	Amery's Statement in Parliament.	1945	385
181.	Lord Wavell, Statement at Simla Conference.	1945	389
182.	Lord Wavell, Radio Broadcast.	1945	392
183.	Muslim League, Seats Won in General Elections.	1946	395
184.	Analysis of Results of General Elections of 1946.	1946	396
185.	Attlee, Prime Minister, Addresses Parliament.	1946	397
186.	Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on the Cripps' Proposals.	1946	403
187.	Resolution of the Convention of Muslim League, on Establishment of Pakistan.	1946	418
188.	Quaid's Letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.	1946	411

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
189.	Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Radio Broadcast.	1946	411
190.	Sir Stafford Cripps, Press Conference.	1946	416
191.	Cabinet Mission and The Viceroy—Their Statements.	1946	422
192.	Cabinet Mission, Press Conference.	1946	436
193.	Lord Wavell, Radio Broadcast.	1946	465
194.	Quaid-e-Azam, Press Statement on Proposals of British Cabinet Mission.	1946	468
195.	Statement of the Cabinet Mission	1946	477
196.	Press Statement of Cabinet Delegation.	1946	479
197.	Press Statement of the Viceroy and The Cabinet Mission.	1946	481
198.	Quaid's Letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.	1946	483
199.	Quaid-e-Azam, Press Statement on Congress Stand on Cabinet Mission's Proposals.	1946	484
200.	Jinnah-Viceroy Correspondence.	1946	491
201.	Sir Arthur Moore, A Letter to the Statesman.	1946	501
202.	Jinnah-Lord Wavell Correspondence.	1946	502
203.	Jinnah-Jawaharlal Nehru Correspondence.	1946	509
204.	Quaid-e-Azam's Press Statement on the Bihar Tragedy.	1946	513
205.	Quaid-e-Azam's Press Statement on League's Participation in the proposed Constitutent Assembly.	1946	515
206.	Statement of H.M.'s Government.	1946	516
207.	Attlee, Prime Minister, Statement in the House of Commons.	1947	518
208.	Communique of the Punjab Government.	1947	522
209.	Press Statement of Hindu Leaders of Lahore.	1947	526

No.	DOCUMENT	Year	Page
210.	Press Report on Political Deadlock in the Punjab.	1947	527
211.	Muslims in the Punjab Police Service.	1947	527
212.	Flight of Capital from Pakistan.	1947	529
213.	3rd June Plan of His Majesty's Government.	1947	530
214.	Quaid-e-Azam, Radio Broadcast, on the 3rd June Plan.	1947	538
215.	Appointment of Boundary Commissions.	1947	540
216.	Letter of the Punjab C.I.D. Chief.	1947	542
217.	Quaid-e-Azam, Inaugural Address to Pakistan Constituent Assembly.	1947	542
218.	Radcliffe Award.	1947	547
219.	The Indian Independence Act 1947.	1947	565
220.	Population of Parts of the Punjab, which should have been included in Pakistan.	1947	592
221.	Gazette of Pakistan, First Issue.	1947	592
222.	Gazette of Pakistan, Second Issue.	1947	594

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT
HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

1. Extracts from the speeches and writings of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

1882

He told a gathering of students at Ludhiana, "Remember a nation is nothing unless it is a nation in the real sense. All individuals, joining the fold of Islam, together constitute a nation of the Muslims. As long as they follow and practise their beloved religion they are a nation. Remember, you have to live and die by Islam and it is by keeping up Islam that our nation is a nation. Dear children, if someone becomes a star of the heaven but ceases to be a Muslim, what is he to us? He is no longer a member of our nation. Thus, achieving progress by keeping up Islam means national well-being."

1883

In the Imperial Legislative Council in 1883 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan observed:

"The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population and in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the

population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the Local Boards and District Councils would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community and the ignorant public would hold Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever."

1887

In a forceful speech in 1887 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan strongly advised the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress, because, as he said, "When our Hindu brethren or Bengali friends wish to make a move which involves a loss to us and humiliation to our nation we cannot remain friendly, and undoubtedly it is our duty to protect our nation from those attacks of the Hindus and Bengalis, which, we are sure, are going to harm our nation."

1887

"In the first instance, I object to the word 'delegate'. I assure my friend that the Muslims who went from our province and Oudh to attend the Congress at Madras do not deserve the appellation 'delegate'........The Muslims who went there were not elected even by ten Muslims......The unanimous passing of any resolution in the Congress does not make it a National Congress. A Congress becomes a National Congress only when all the aims and objects of the nation whom that Congress represents are common without exception. My honourable friend admits that some aims and objects of the Muslims and the Hindus are different and contradictory.

Should we Muslims found a separate Congress to realise our different aims? Should the two Congresses compete and even fight with each other in view of their conflicting and antagonistic aims? Our friend should himself decide in all fairness whether such nations whose aims and objects are opposed to one another, though some minor points might be common, can form a National Congress? It may be appropriate or not, but no Muslim, be he a cobbler or a nobleman, would ever agree to the Muslims being relegated to a status where they become slaves of another nation which is their neighbour, even though time has reduced them to a very low position and will reduce them still further."

1893

"The aims and objects of the Indian National Congress are based upon ignorance of history and present-day realities; they do not take into consideration that India is inhabited by different nationalities; they presuppose that the Muslims like the Marhattas, the Brahmins, the Kashtriyas, the Banias, the Sudras, the Sikhs, the Bengalis, the Madrasis, and the Peshawaris can all be treated alike, and all of them belong to the same nation. The Congress thinks that they profess the same religion, that they speak the same language, that their way of life and customs are the same, that their attitude to history is similar and is based upon the same historical traditions."

1893

"The proposals of the Congress are exceedingly inexpedient for a country which is inhabited by two different nations. Now suppose that all the English were to leave India.... then who would be the rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations—the Mohammedan and the Hindu—could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most ceratinly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable."

1900

2. A meeting of the Urdu Defence Association was held at Lucknow on 18th August, 1900. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, during the course of his address on this occasion, said:

"Though we do not wield the pen and our pen is not powerful which is why we are seldom seen in offices, yet we have the strength to wield the sword, and our hearts are full of love for the Queen......We cannot for a moment imagine that the Government will forsake and ignore us or allow those things on which our life depends to come to grief. I do not believe that Government will allow our language to die; it will keep it alive. It will never die. But there is no doubt that if the efforts being made by the other side to kill our language continue it may suffer a setback at any time in future. These fears have led us to make these efforts to keep alive our language and, even if we cannot, to take out its funeral bier with great eclat. When an entire nation is aggrieved by some problem there is no need to work up an agitation or to arouse the people. At such a time our duty is to bring public opinion to a moderate level and remove false conceptions about Government's intention and aims from the hearts of the people."

1905

3. Excerpt from an article written by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. This shows that the idea of forming a political party of the Muslims was taking shape in his mind. And the All-India Muslim League came into being in 1906:

"In view of how Muslim rights are being supppressed, their aims are being attacked and articles are being written, how is it possible for Muslims to remain silent and yet to avoid loss on account of their silence. To do nothing and to confine our efforts to education alone is an impracticable proposition."

1906

4. Address presented to H. E. Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India by a deputation of the Muslim community of India under the leadership of H. H. the Aga Khan on 1st October, 1906, at Simla:

"'The representatives of the Mohamedan community who were to present the address to His Excellency the Viceroy this morning at Viceregal Lodge collected in the ballroom at 11 A. M. They numbered thirty-five and were seated in horse-shoe facing His Excellency's chair. Precisely at 11 A. M. Lord Minto, preceded by his staff, entered the room, all standing to receive him. His Excellency was taken round and personally introduced to each member by the Aga Khan. The Khalifa from Patiala then asked permission for the presentation of the address and the Aga Khan then advanced and facing His Excellency read the petition given below, all the representatives standing."

ADDRESS

May it please your Excellency,—Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, taluqdars, lawyers, zamindars, merchants and others representing a large body of the Mohamedan subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration.

We fully realise and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to diverse races and professing diverse religions who form the population of the vast continent of India, and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive, and that India will in the future occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has so far as possible been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature of all Indian progress.

Claims of the Community

Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commercial organisations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance, and finally by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and above all in the Legislative Chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Committee appointed by your Excellency with the view of giving it further extension, and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community, that we have ventured to approach your Excellency on the present occasion.

Past Traditions

The Mohamedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two millions or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian dominions, and if a reduction be made for the uncivilised portions of the community enumerated under the heads of animist and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus but properly speaking are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mohamedans to the Hindu Majority becomes much larger. We therefore desire to submit that under any system of representation extended or limited a community in itself more numerous

than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State.

We venture, indeed, with your Excellency's permission to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Mohamedan community in any kind of representation direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the empire, and we also hope that your Excellency will in this connection be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India little more than hundred years ago and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

The Mohamedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterised their rulers, and have in consequence abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing, but earnestly as we desire that the Mohamedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohamedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

We therefore pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after a careful consideration of the views and wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with your Excellency's earnest attention.

European Representative Institutions

We hope your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European

type are new to the Indian people; many of the most thoughtful members of our community in fact consider that the greatest care, forethought and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious and political conditions obtaining in India, and that in the absence of such care and caution their adoption is likely, among other evils, to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. Since, however, our rulers have in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the Government of the country, we Mohamedans cannot any longer in justice to our own national interests hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mohamedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of your Excellency and your illustrious predecessor in office and the heads of local Governments by whom the Mohamedan members of Legislative Chambers have almost without exception been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably under existing circumstances unavoidable, for while on the one hand number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection on the other hand of really representative men, has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy.

The Results of Election

As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the name of any Mohamedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we in fairness find fault with

the desire of our non-Muslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority on whose good-will they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow country-men and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality.

A Distinct Community

Still it cannot be denied that we Mohamedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the provinces in which the Mohamedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might without unfairness be neglected. This has been the case to some extent, in the Punjab, but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mohamedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due.

Employment in Government Service

We therefore pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces a due proportion of Mohamedans shall always find place. Orders of

like import have at times been issued by local Governments in some province, but have not, unfortunately, in all cases been strictly observed on the ground that qualified Mohamedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however well founded it may have been at one time, is, we submit, no longer tenable now, and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting the supply of qualified Mohamedans, we are happy to be able to assure your Excellency, is equal to the demand.

The Competitive Element

Since, however, the number of qualified Mohamedans has increased, a tendency is unfortunately perceptible to reject them on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence. This introduces something like the competitive element in its worst form, and we may be permitted to draw your Excellency's attention to the political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class. We may also point out in this connection that the efforts of Mohamedan educationists have from the very outset of the educational movement among them been strenuously directed towards the development of character, and this we venture to think is of greater importance than mere mental alertness in the making of a good public servant.

Mohamedans on the Bench

We venture to submit that the generality of Mohamedans in all parts of India feel aggrieved that Mohamedan Judges are not more frequently appointed to the High Courts and Chief Courts of Judicature. Since the creation of these Courts only three Mohamedan lawyers have held these honourable appointments, all of whom have fully justified their elevation to the Bench. At the present moment there is not a single Mohamedan Judge sitting on the Bench of any of these Courts, while there are three Hindu Judges in the Calcutta High Court, where the proportion of Mohamedans in the population is very large and two in the Chief Court of

the Punjab, where the Mohamedans form the majority of the population. It is not, therefore, an extravagant request on our part that a Mohamedan should be given a seat on the Bench of each of the High Courts and Chief Courts. Qualified Mohamedan lawyers eligible for these appointments can always be found, if not in one province then in another. We beg permission further to submit that the presence on the Bench of these Courts of a Judge learned in the Mohamedan Law will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of Justice.

Municipal Representation

As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit for a moment your Excellency's attention to the position of Mohamedans thereon before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people, yet the position of Mohamedans on these boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mohamedan Commissioner, and the same principle we understand is adopted in a number of Municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere but in a good many places the Mohamedan tax-payers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the local authority should in every case be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohamedans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should

be allowed severally to return their own representatives as is the practice in many towns in the Punjab.

Fellows of Universities

We would also suggest that the Senate and Syndicates of Indian Universities might be similarly dealt with, that is to say there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mohamedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

Nomination to Provincial Councils

We now proceed to the consideration of the question of our representation in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would most respectfully suggest that as in the case of Municipalities and District Boards the proportion of Mohamedan representatives entitled to seats should be determined and declared with due regard to the important considerations which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this address, and that the important Mohamedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests, the Mohamedan members of District Boards and Municipalities and the Mohamedan graduates of universities of a certain standing, say five years, should be formed into Electoral Colleges and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

The Viceroy's Council

With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council whereon the due representation of Mohamedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest (1) that in the cadre of the Council the proportion of Mohamedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case

the Mohamedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (2) that as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination; (3) that for the purposes of choosing Mohamedan members, Mohamedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by your Excellency's Government, Mohamedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mohamedan fellows of universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

The Executive Council

An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian Members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointment being made we beg that the claim of Mohamedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mohamedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august chamber.

A Mohamedan University

We beg to approach your Excellency on a subject which must closely affect our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mohamedan University which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We therefore most respectfully pray that your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

In conclusion we beg to assure your Excellency that in assisting the Mohamedan subjects of His Majesty at this stage in the development of Indian affairs in the directions indicated in the present address, your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national

prosperity, and your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come and we feel confident that your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, your Excellency's most obedient humble servants.

Those who formed the deputation were:-

His Highness Aga Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., (Bombay); Shahzada Bakhtiar Shah, O.I.E., Head of the Mysore family, Calcutta; Hon'ble Malik Omar Hayyet Khan, C.I.E., Lieutenant 17th Prince of Wales Tiwana Lancers, Tiwana, Shahpur (Punjab); Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammed Shah Din, Bar-at-Law, Lahore; Hon'ble Maulvi Sharfuddin, Bar-at-Law, Patna; Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury, Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal); Nawab Bahadur Syed Amir Hasan Khan, C.I.E., Calcutta; Naseer Hussain Khan Khayal, Calcutta; Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg; Persian Consul-General, Murshidabad, Calcutta (Bengal); Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, Patna (Behar); Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Patna (Behar); Khan Bahadur Ahmad Mohiuddin Khan, Stipendiary of the Carnatic family (Madras); Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, Bar-at-Law (Bombay); Ebrahim Bhoy Adamji Peerbhoy, General Merchant (Bombay); Mr. Abdur Rahim, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta; Syed Allahdad Shah, Special Magistrate and Vice-President, Zamindars' Association, Khairpore (Sindh); Maulana H. M. Malak, Head of Mehdi Bazh Bohras, Nagpur (Central Provinces); Mushir-ul-Doula Mumtazal-ul-Mulk Khan Bahadur Khalifa Syed Mohammed Hussain, Member of the State Council of Patiala (Punjab); Khan Bahadur Col. Abdul Majid Khan, Foreign Minister, Patiala (Punjab); Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah, Hony. Magistrate, Amritsar (Punjab); Mian Mohammed Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Lahore (Punjab); Shaikh Ghulam Sadik, Amritsar (Punjab); Hakim Mohammed Ajmul Khan, Delhi (Punjab); Munshi Ihtisham Ali, Zamindar and Rais, Kakori (Oudh); Syed Nabi Ullah, Bar-at-Law, Rais Kara, Dist. Allahabad; Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad; Syed Abdul Raoof, Bar-at-

Law, Allahabad; Munshi Abdus Salam Khan, retired Sub-Judge, Rampur; Khan Bahadur Mohammed Muzammil Ullah Khan, Zamindar, Secretary, Zamindars' Association, United Provinces, and Joint Secretary, M.A.O. College Trustees, Aligarh; Haji Mohammed Ismail Khan, Zamindar, Aligarh; Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law, Aligarh; Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, Rais, Amroha, United Provinces; Maulvi Habibur Rahman Khan, Zamindar Bhikhanpur, United Provinces; Nawab Syed Sirdar Ali Khan, son of the late Nawab Sirdar Diler ul-Mulk Bahadur, C.I.E., Hyderabad (Deccan); Maulvi Syed Mahdee Ally Khan (Mohsin-ul-Mulk) Hony. Secretary, M.A.O. College, Aligarh, Etawah, United Provinces.

The following gentlemen intended to have attended the presentation of the address to the Viceroy, but were prevented by illness or other causes: Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Salimullah, Nawab of Dacca; Hon'ble Nawab Haji Mohammed Fateh Ali Khan Qazelbash, Lahore; Hon'ble Syed Zainul, Edrosi, Surat; Khan Bahadur Kasim Mir Ghayasuddin Peerzadah of Broach; Khan Bahadur Raja Jahandad of Hazara and Shaikh Shahid Hussain of Lucknow."

LORD MINTO'S REPLY

Appreciation of Mohamedan Aspirations

After the address His Excellency rose and delivered a most sympathetic reply, which was frequently punctuated with cheers and cries of "Hear", "Hear" from the members of the deputation, particularly when His Excellency declared that he was entirely in accordance with the views of the deputation that any electoral system must take cognizance of the various religious beliefs of this great Empire and that the British Government would always in the future as in the past safeguard the political rights of the different communities entrusted to their charge. The Viceroy concluded by thanking the deputation for affording him the unique opportunity of meeting so many representative men.

The Viceroy said :

Your Highness and gentlemen, Allow me before I attempt to reply to the many considerations your address embodies, to welcome you heartily to Simla. Your presence here to-day is very full of meaning. To the document with which you have presented me are attached the signatures of nobles, of Ministers of various States, of great land-owners, of lawyers, of merchants and of many others of His Majesty's subjects. I welcome the representative character of your deputation as expressing the views and aspirations of the enlightened Muslim community of India. I feel that all you have said emanates from a representative body basing its opinions on a matured consideration of the small existing political conditions of India, totally apart from the small personal or political sympathies and antipathies of scattered localities, and I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are affording me of expressing my appreciation of the just aims of the followers of Islam and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire.

As your Viceroy, I am proud of the recognition you express of the benefits conferred by British rule on the diverse races of many creeds who go to form the population of this huge continent. You yourselves, the descendants of a conquering and ruling race, have told me to-day of your gratitude for the personal freedom, the liberty of worship, the general peace and the hopeful future which British administration has secured for India.

Help in the Past

It is interesting to look back on early British efforts to assist the Mohamedan population to qualify themselves for the public service. In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassah with the intention of enabling its students to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government. In 1811 my ancestor, Lord Minto, advocated improvements in the Madrassah and the establishment of

Mohamedan Colleges at other places throughout India. In later years the efforts of the Mohamedan Association led to the Government resolution of 1885 dealing with the educational position of the Mohamedan community and their employment in the public service, whilst Mohamedan educational effort has culminated in the College of Aligarh that great institution which the noble and broadminded devotion of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has dedicated to his co-religionists.

The Aligarh College

It was in July 1887 that Lord Lytton laid the foundation-stone of Aligarh, when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan addressed these memorable words to the Viceroy: "The personal honour which you have done me assures me of a great fact and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent the British rule, have sympathies with our labours and this assurance is very valuable and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now the sole object of my life has roused on the one hand the energies of my own country-men, and on the other has won the sympathy of our British fellow subjects and the support of our rulers, so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the College will still prosper and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow subjects as have been the ruling feelings of my life".

Sir Syed's Influence

Aligarh has won its laurels. Its students have gone forth to fight the battle of life strong in the tenets of their own religion, strong in the precepts of loyalty and patriotism, and now when there is much that is critical in the political future of India the inspiration of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the

teachings of Aligarh shine forth brilliantly in the pride of Mohamedan history, in the loyalty, common-sense and sound reasoning so eloquently expressed in your address. But, gentlemen, you go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealings of your rulers, you cannot but be aware that "recent events" have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mohamedans which might "pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance."

Policy in Eastern Bengal

Now I have no intention of entering into any discussion upon the affairs of Eastern Bengal and Assam, yet I hope that without offence to anyone I may thank the Mohamedan community of the new Province for the moderation and self-restraint they have shown under conditions which were new to them, and as to which there has been inevitably much misunderstanding, and that I may at the same time sympathise with all that is sincere in Bengalee sentiments. But, above all, what I would ask you to believe is that the course the Viceroy and the Government of India have pursued in connection with the affairs of the new Province, the future of which is now I hope assured, has been dictated solely by a regard for what has appeared best for its present and future population as a whole, irrespective of race or creed, and that the Mohamedan community of Eastern Bengal and Assam can rely as firmly as ever on British justice and fair play for the appreciation of its loyalty and the safeguarding of its interests.

The Unrest in India

You have addressed me, gentlemen, at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it would be foolish to attempt to deny its existence; hopes and ambitions new to India are making themselves felt. We cannot ignore them—we should be wrong to wish to do so—but to what is all this unrest due? Not to the discontent of misgoverned millions—I defy anyone honestly to assert that—not to say uprising of a disaffected people.

Fruits of Western Education

It is due to that educational growth in which only a very small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British rule first sowed the seed and the fruits of which British rule is now doing its best to foster and to direct. There may be many tares in the harvest we are now reaping. The Western grain which we have sown may not be entirely suitable to the requirements of the people of India but the educational harvest will increase as years go on, and the healthiness of the nourishment it gives will depend on the careful administration and distribution of its products. You need not ask my pardon gentlemen, for telling me that "Representative institutions of the European type are entirely new to the people of India" or that their introduction here requires the most earnest thought and care. I should be very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world amongst the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races. Western breadth of thought, the teachings of Western civilisation, the freedom of British individuality can do much for the people of India, but I recognise with you that they must not carry with them an impracticable insistence of the acceptance of political methods.

Political Future of Mohamedans

And now gentlemen I come to your own position in respect to the political future of the position of the Mohamedan community for whom you speak. You will, I feel sure, recognise that it is impossible for me to follow you through any detailed consideration of the conditions and the share that the community has a right to claim in the administration of public affairs. I can at present only deal with generalities. The points which you have raised are before the Committee, which, as you know, I have lately appointed to consider the question of presentation (representation), and I will take care that your address is submitted to them, but at the same time I hope I may be able to reply to the general tenor of your remarks without in any way forestalling the Committee's report.

The Question of Representation

The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that in any system of representation whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohamedan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as now constituted, cannot be expected to return a Mohamedan candidate, and that if by chance they did so it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's view to those of a majority opposed to his own community whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your numerical strength and both in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire entitle you to consideration. I am entirely in accord with you; please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this Continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the Municipal and District Boards and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people.

An Assurance

In the meantime I can only say to you that the Mohamedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative organisation with which I am concerned and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of His Majesty's Indian Empire.

Your Highness and Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the unique opportunity your deputation has given me of meeting so many distinguished and representative Mohamedans. I deeply appreciate the energy and interest in public affairs which have brought you here from great distances, and I only regret that your visit to Simla is necessarily so short.

1906

5. The all-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Dacca on 30th December 1906 under the chairmanship of Nawab Sir Salimullah of Dacca. In his introductory speech on this occasion, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk said :

"The purpose for which we have met today is nothing new. It arose from the day the Indian National Congress was founded, so much so that the late lamented Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, for whose sagacious and far-sighted policy we will always remain indebted, was so moved by the growing strength of the Congress that he valiantly strove to convince the Muslims that their betterment and security lay in abstaining from participation in the Congress. The advice was so sound that, though he is not among us today, yet the Muslims firmly hold to it, and as time passes we realise more and more that the Muslims should make the maximum efforts to protect their political rights.

"Realising the increase in the internal and external influence of the Congress in the wake of the partition of Bengal and noting the Government's intention to expand the legislative councils the Muslims waited in deputation on the Viceroy and placed before him their needs and the injustices they have had to suffer as a nation. The proceedings of the Deputation and the Viceroy's reply have appeared in the press. The Muslim leaders who, as members of the Deputation had gathered at Simla, after considering the steps to be taken to safeguard the political rights of the Muslims on a permanent footing, had resolved that delegates from different provinces should meet at Dacca towards the end of December and decide the question.

"The Muslims are only one-fourth of the population of other communities of India. It is quite obvious that, if at any time the British Government ceases to exist in India, the nation which is four times more numerous will rule the country. Now, gentlemen, everyone should ponder as to what would be our condition at that time. In such a contingency our lives, our property, our honour, our religion, all will be in jeopardy. Today when the might of the British Government affords protection to the people there are numerous instances of the difficulties and troubles we experience at the hands of our neighbours in the various provinces. Woe betide the time when we have to live as subjects of these people who want to take revenge of Aurangzeb from us after hundreds of years. Of course, it is our duty, as far as our influence goes to dissuade our friends from following the wrong path, to treat them nicely as our neighbours, to show sympathy to them on the social plane and refrain from any antagonistic attitude towards them, while safeguarding our rights and interests. Whatever differences we now have or may have in future with the Congress concern three matters—firstly those demands of the Congress which imperil the existence of the British Government in India; secondly those questions which are prejudicial to our legitmate rights; thirdly their violent tone against the Government which the Muslims do not appreciate."

1906

6. Main Resolution passed in a meeting of leading Muslims of India held at Dacca on 30th December, 1906, under the Chairmanship of Nawab Viqarul Mulk:

"Resolved that this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca decides that a political association, styled 'The-India Muslim League' be formed for the furtherance of the following objects:

(a) To promote among the Musalmans of India the feeling of loyalty to the British Government and remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures;

(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and respectfully to represent the needs and aspirations to Government; and

(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League".

The above resolution was moved by the Nawab of Dacca and seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan.

1907

7.. **The following aims and objects of the All-India Muslim League, adopted in its first session at Karachi on 30th December 1907 were incorporated in its constitution. The session was presided over by Sir Adamji Pirbhai :**

(a) to promote among Indian Musalmans feelings of loyalty towards the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) to protect the political and other right of Indian Musalmans and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language.

(c) so far as possible, without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (a) and (b) of this Section, to promote friendly feelings between the Musalmans and other communities of India.

1908

8. **The following office-bearers were elected at a meeting of the All-India Muslim League held on 18th March, 1908 at the residence of Nawab Muzammil Ullah in Aligarh. The meeting was presided over by Justice Shah Din of the Punjab :**

1. His Highness the Aga Khan—President
2. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami—Secretary
3. Haji Mohammed Musa Khan of Aligarh—Joint Secretary

1909

9. Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India from 1905 to 1910, on the demand of the Muslims of India for separate electorates.

"Let us not forget that the difference between Mohamedanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith and dogma. It is a difference of life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community. Do not let us forget what makes it interesting and even exciting. Do not let us forget that in talking of Hindus and Mohamedans, we are dealing with, and are brought, face to face with mightiest forces that through all the centuries and ages have moulded the fortunes of great States and the destinies of countless millions of mankind."

"The Mohamedans protested that the Hindus would elect a pro-Hindu, just as I suppose, in a mixed college of say seventy-five Catholics and twenty-five Protestants voting to together, the Protestants might suspect that the Catholic voting for the Protestant would choose what is called a Romanizing Protestant, and as little of a Protestant as they could find. Suppose the other way. In Ireland there is an expression, a shoneen Catholic—that is to say, a Catholic who, though a Catholic, is too friendly with English Conservatism and other influences which the Nationalists dislike. And it might be said, if there were seventy-five Protestants against twenty-five Catholics, that the Protestants when giving a vote in the way of Catholic representative, would return shoneens."

1913

10. Resolution adopted by the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League held in 1913 :

"The All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities and hopes that leaders of both sides will periodically meet together to find a **modus operandi** for joint and concerted action in questions of public good".

1913

11. The goal of the All-India Muslim League which came into existence in 1906 was changed at its Lucknow session held in 1913 to read as under:

"Attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about, amongst other things a steady reform of the existing systems of administration by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India, and by co-operation with other communities for the said purpose.

1916

12. The Congress-League Scheme of Reforms, also known as the Lucknow Pact of 1916:

That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards self-government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim-League (detailed below). (No demand for recognising All-India Muslim League as sole representative of Muslims).

REFORM SCHEME

I—Provincial Legislative Councils

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major Provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor Provinces.

3. **The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.**

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and **the Muslims should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:**

Punjab—One-half of the	elected Indian	Members.
United Provinces—30 p.c.	"	"
Bengal 40—p.c.	"	"
Bihar—25 p.c.	"	"
Central Provinces—15 p.c.	"	"
Madras 15—p.c.	"	"
Bombay one-third	"	"

Provided that no Muslim shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, **if three-fourth of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose** the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation and vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary Revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolution on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become Law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II—Provincial Governments

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III—Imperial Legislative Council

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifth of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Muslims for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Muslims elected by separate Muslim electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Council by separate Muslim electorates.

Vide provisos to section 1, clause 4.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-Provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General-in-Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolution on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor-General-in-Council; provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by the Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Council, it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV—The Government of India

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests. subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfers in the local affairs of a Province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India be instituted.

V—The Secretary of State in Council

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, a far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI—India and the Empire

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII—Military and Other Matters

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

1 9 1 6

13. **In October 1916 nineteen elected additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council submitted the following memorandum to the Viceroy of India, in support of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms. This document is known as "The Memorandum of the Nineteen".**

There is no doubt that the termination of the War will see a great advance in the ideals of Government all over the civilised world and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small Nationalities and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity in the international relations of the world. India has borne her part in this struggle and cannot remain unaffected by the new

spirit of change for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country and hopes held out that, after the War, the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision. The people of India have good reasons to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook under British Rule, and for the steady, if slow, advance in her National Life commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833. Up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition and not responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909 for the first time introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. The element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit the Indians into the inner counsels of the Indian Empire. So far as the Legislative Councils are concerned, the numbers of non-official members were merely enlarged with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The Supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such majority included nominated members and the European representatives. In measures largely affecting the people, whether of legislation or taxation, by which Europeans were not directly affected the European members would naturally support the Government, and the nominated members, being nominees of Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether Supreme or Provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial. The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian element in the Executive Councils, where again the nomination rests entirely with the

Government, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian members.

The object which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill (1st April, 1909), that, "it **was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons, the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy".** This object, it is submitted, has not been attained. Apart from this question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities, which not only prevent the utilisation, but also lead to the wastage of what is best in them, and are positively derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act which excludes from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the army, are disabilities which are looked upon with an irritating sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough if these were mere disabilities. Restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to a serious danger The position of Indians in India is practically this, that they have no real part or share in the direction of the Government of the country, and are placed under very great and galling disabilities from which the other members of the British Empire are exempt, and which have reduced them to a state of utter helplessness. The existence, moreover, of the system of indentured impression that Indians, as a whole, are no better than indentured coolies, who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things makes the Indians feel that though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire. Other Asiatic races also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her status in the Empire. Humiliating as this position of inferiority is to the Indian mind, it is almost

unbearable to the youth of India whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts where they come in contact with other free races. In the face of these grievances and disabilities what has sustained the people is the hope and faith inspired by promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government, and have faithfully and loyally stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to the battlefields of Europe, not as mercenary troops but as free citizens of the British Empire which required their services, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely, to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquillity reigned throughout India when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while voicing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in this great War, spoke of Indians as "the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future." India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past, and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship. This would assure the Indian people that England is ready and willing to help them to attain self government under the aegis of the British Crown, and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen. What is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people because it is responsible to them. This is what India understands would constitute the changed angle of vision.

If, after the termination of the War, the position of India practically remains what it was before, and there is no material change in it, it will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country, and the benefi-

cent effects of participation in common danger, overcome by common effort, will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation and is contemplating measures of reforms in the administration of the country. We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to respectfully offer to Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must, in our opinion, go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the Government of the country, and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career, which indicate want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. With this view, we would take the liberty to suggest the following measure for consideration and adoption.

1. In all the Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number of members should be Indians; the European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans, should have experience of actual administration, for, as in the case of ministers in England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the departments is always available to them. As regards Indians, we venture to say that a sufficient number of qualified Indians, who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Council and hold portfolios, is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, the late Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Sir Shams ul-Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair have maintained a high level of administrative ability in the discharge of their duties. Moreover it is well known that the Native States, where Indians have opportunities, have produced renowned administrators like Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Sheshadri Aiyar. Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, not to mention the present adminis-

trators in the various Native States of India. The statutory obligation, now existing, that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India, and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils and for that purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

.. **2. All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives.** These representatives, we feel sure, will watch and safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population with whom they are in closer touch than any European officer, however sympathetic, the latter can possibly be. The proceedings of the various Legislative Councils and the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League bear ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses and their acquaintance with their wants and .wishes. **The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people; Muslims or Hindus, wherever they are in a minority, being given proper and adequate representation, having regard to their numerical strength and position.**

3. The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should be not less than 150, and of the Provincial Councils not less than 100 for the major Provinces, and not less than 60 to 75 for the minor Provinces.

4. The Budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

5. The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on, and discuss and pass resolutions relating to, all matters of Indian administration, and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to Provincial administrations, save and except that the direction of military affairs, of foreign relations, declarations of war, the making of peace, and the entering into treaties, other than commercial, should

not be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard, the Governor-General-in-Council or the Governor-in-Council, as the case may be, should have the right of veto, which, however, should be exercised subject to certain conditions and limitations.

The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, hold in relation to the Government of India a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the Secretary and the Under-Secretaries should be placed on the British estimates.

7. In any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given through her chosen representatives a place similar to that of the self-governing Dominions.

8. The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous, as stated in the Government of India's despatch dated 25th August, 1911.

9. The United Provinces, as well as the other major Provinces, should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom and should have an Executive Council.

10. A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted.

11. The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans.

12. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a territorial army established in India.

13. Commissions in the army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kasimbazar.
D. E. Wacha.
Bhupendranath Basu.
Bishan Dutta Shukul.
Madan Mohan Malaviya.
K. V. Rangaswamiengar.
Mazharul Haque.
V. S. Srinivasan.
Tej Bahadur Sapru.
Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
B. Narasimheswara Samra.
Mir Asad Ali.
Kamini Kumar Chanda.
Krishna Sahay.
R.N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika.
M. B. Dadabhoy.
Sita Nath Roy.
Mahomed Ali Mahomed.
M. A. Jinnah.

In all there were 27 non-official members, of whom two were Anglo-Indians, who, for obvious reasons, were not consulted. Three were not in India at the time, while the following three refused to sign.

(1) Nawab Syed Nawab Ali.
(2) Mr. Abdur Rahim.
(3) Sirdar Bahadur Sirdar Sunder Singh Majithia.

1916-17

14. Resolution of the Muslim League adopted at its Lucknow Session on 1-1-1917, in support of the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms:

"The All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to the Government for its introduction after the War as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-government in India.

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Bombay—One-third of the elected Indian members.

Provided that no Musalman shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Council, save and except those by electorate representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths

of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

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(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

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1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government, shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V—The Secretary of State-in-Council

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Government of the self-governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI—India and the Empire

1. In any council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and right of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII—Military and Other Matters

Commissions in the Army

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

Volunteering

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

Separation of judicial executive functions

3. Executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province.

Syed Wazir Hasan,
Honorary Secretary,
All-India Muslim League

Lucknow:

1st January, 1917.

1917

15. Extract from the Report of the proceedings of Socialist International of 1917, held in Stockholm, written in French by its Secretary General, Mr. Camille Huysmann. The original of the French text is in the British museum and the following is its English translation:

The first delegation consisting of M. M. Virendranath Chathopadyahya and M. Charya and representing revolutionary groups demanding complete independence of India orally described the situation created by the British occupation of this country. It incorporated its urgent demands in a request made to the powers asking that India be represented at the conference of the nations interested in the task of negotiating the terms of the peace, by a delegation having the complete confidence of the Indian people.

The second delegation consisting of professors Jabbar and Sattar of Delhi (commonly known as Khairi Brothers) submitted a detailed memorandum on behalf of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Musalmans of India. The main points of this memorandum are summarised in the following note:

The end of the present War should herald the beginning of a new era characterised by durable peace. But this peace cannot be durable so long as all the nations are not free.

Great Britain holds 325 million Indians under subjugation, i.e., one-fifth of the total population of the world, who have every right to independence and to liberty. Even if the Government of England had the right to press, it would not have the right to oppress the Indians.

The unfortunate situation in which the Indians find themselves is well known throughout the world. The fact that Indians are capable of governing themselves is also well known. The only objections which have been raised against the grant of home rule to Indians, are the fact that many languages are spoken and many different religions are professed in India. To these arguments we reply that it is much more easy to create a federal state in India than to form the world society of nations. And despite the difference of language and of religion all the Indians are united in the belief that they belong to one and the same people and that these people wish to be free.

At present Hindustan is composed of several provinces directly governed by the English and there are other regions sometimes as large as France itself, and a small part composed of a few villages, governed through the agency of the Indian Princes. All these territories can be brought into a federation. The Provinces directly governed by the British can adopt a Republican form of State and those belonging to the Princes can keep their sovereignties. The combined group of these States can form a Constitutional Empire.

For the sake of justice it would also be necessary to re-establish some of the Musalman States which were abolished, like, for instance, the Principalities of Bengal, Oudh, Sindh, Karnatic, Madras, Mysore etc. Not forgetting Delhi.

1918

16. Extracts from "India In Transition" by H. H. the Aga Khan, written on the eve of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.

"If the British, on whom historical causes have thrown the ultimate responsibility for the future of India and of surrounding states and nations, were to fail in this their greatest task, Southern Asia would become the theatre of one of the heaviest disasters humanity has faced. Sooner or later, an ignorant and innumerable proletariat, extending over nearly the whole length of Asia from the Red Sea to the Pacific, divided by religion and race and language, would be faced with the problem of self-government and self-development. The course of Russian history in our times provides a tragic warning to those who are responsible for the future of India of the dangers of leaving the apparently well alone, and of not working for the development of the masses in rights and duties alike and in responsibility towards society. It has been well said that the British tenure in India must be one of continuous amelioration.

But apart from these lessons of modern history we have to recognise the existence of internal forces in India proper and in the neighbouring states and principalities that render a policy of standing still or of merely nominal concession a practical impossibility since it would work disaster, in the long run, alike for Britain and for India. These forces may not individually be powerful enough to compel renunciation of existing forms of government; but taken together and in connection with other world forces which react even in remote portions of Southern Asia, they are so enormous in their effect that a radical change of outlook is necessary.

These historical examples are a reminder that national progress cannot be compartmented at will without danger to the body politic. Gibbon, the prince of historians, pointed out that literature and art, politeness and refinement, thrive most amongst the nations that have led the world in science and bravery, in military power and civil administration. My contention is that unless a nation develops all its faculties pari passu, a full, rich, and independent national life is not attainable. Thus we want in India not only social and economic, but also political, advancement, without which the two former cannot be brought to fruitful maturity.—"

1919

17. Quaid-e-Azam's letter to the Viceroy, dated 28th March 1919, protesting against passing of the Rowlat Bill.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
28th March, 1919.

To,
Lord Chelmsford,
Viceroy.

Your Excellency,

The passing of the Rowlat Bill by the Government of India, and the assent given to it by Your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people, has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice. Further, it has clearly demonstrated the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council, which is a legislature but in name—a machine propelled by a foreign executive. Neither the unanimous members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect.

The Government of India and Your Excellency, however, have thought it fit to place on the Statute Book a measure

admittedly obnoxious and decidedly coercive at a time of peace, thereby substituting the executive for the judicial.

Besides, by passing this Bill, Your Excellency's Government have actively negatived every argument they advanced, but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the War Conference, and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the War.

The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted, and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there is no real danger to the State by an overfretful and incompetent bureaucracy, which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion, and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused.

I, therefore, as a protest against the passing of the Bill and the manner in which it was passed, tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, for I feel that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor consistently with one's self-respect cooperation is possible with a Government that shows such utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council Chamber, and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside.

In my opinion, a Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilised Government and I still hope that the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montague, will advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance to this Black Act.

Yours truly,
M. A. Jinnah

1921

18. Languages used in India by Muslims in order of importance.

(According to Census of 1921)

(Western Hindi)

Urdu	20,791,000
Bengali	23,995,000
Punjabi	.7,700,000
Sindhi	2,912,000
Kashmiri (and allied languages)	1,500,000
Pushtu	1,460,000
Gujarati	1,400,000
Tamil	1,250,000
Malayalam	1,107,000
Telugu	750,000
Oriya	400,000
Baluchi	224,000
Brahui	122,000
Arabic	42,000
Persian	22,000
Other languages	5,060,000
Total	68,735,000

1924

19. Resolution passed by the Annual Session of the League in Bombay on 25th May 1924, condemning the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924.

That the All-India Muslim League is firmly of opinion that anarchical organisation can never secure Swaraj to the people of India, and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organisations, if any, the All-India Muslim League views, with the strongest disapproval, the action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the Legislature and as it easily lends itself, in the hands of the Executive, to grave abuses

resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated. The League therefore urges the immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance and the trial, if necessary, in accordance with the ordinary law, of the persons detained under it, and the League further urges that Regulation III of 1818, which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes, without warrant, without trial and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn and it records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of the just rights of the people long overdue and that the speedy establishment of Swaraj is the only effective remedy therefor.

Proposed by—Mr. M.C. Chagla, Bombay

Seconded by—Agha Mohammad Safdar, Sialkot

Supported by—Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Madras
" Maulvi Muzharuddin, Delhi.

1924

20. Resolution moved from the Chair by the Quaid-e-Azam on 25th May 1924, in Lahore at the Annual Session of the League, concerning organising workers and peasants of India.

With a view to better economic and political conditions of the workers and peasants of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it most essential that the organisation of the workers and peasants be taken in hand and a movement be immediately started on the line chalked out by the All-India Congress Committee in this connection. In order to achieve these objects the League therefore resolves that a Committee of five members be appointed by the Council of the League to meet the Committee appointed by All-India Congress Committee for this purpose to draw up a practical programme for the organisation of workers and peasants of India.

1924

21. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Annual Session held in Lahore on 25th May 1924, concerning introduction of Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

That the All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate and the paramount necessity of introducing reforms in the N-W.F. Province and of placing this province, in all respects, in a position of equality with the other major provinces of India.

Proposed by—Mr. Abdul Aziz, Peshawar.
Seconded by—Abdul Majid Qureshi, Lahore.

1924

22. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Annual Session held in Lahore on 25th May 1924, expressing the views of the League on the Reforms of 1919.

That in the opinion of the All-India Muslim League the reforms granted by the Government of India Act 1919 are wholly unsatisfactory and altogether inadequate to meet the requirement of the country and that the virtual absence of any responsibility of the executive to the elected representatives of the people in the legislature has really rendered them futile and unworkable; the League therefore urges that immediate steps be taken to establish Swaraj, i.e., full responsible government, having regard to the provisions of Resolution No. 2 and this, in the opinion of the League, can only be done by a complete overhaul of the Government of India Act 1919 and not merely by an enquiry, with a view to discover defect in the working of the Act and to rectify imperfections, under its rule making power.

Proposed by—Mr. Asaf Ali, Delhi.
Seconded by—Malik Barkat Ali, Lahore.
Supported by—Syed Habib Shah, Lahore.

1 9 2 4

23. Resolution passed at the Annual Session of the Muslim League in Lahore on 25th May 1924, regarding the anti-Muslim attitude of the Government of Kashmir.

That the All-India Muslim League greatly deplores the continued unsympathetic and indifferent attitude of Kashmir Darbar towards the political and education needs and aspirations of the Musalmans of Kashmir State and resolves that in view of the grave situation existing in Kashmir a special Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League be formed to find out ways and means for uplifting the poor and down-trodden Musalman community of that State, and to bring home to the Kashmir Darbar the paramount necessity of providing special facilities of educating the Musalmans of the State and ameliorating their present helpless condition and to give the Musalmans of Kashmir who form 95 per cent of the population of the State their rightful place in the public services and in the administration of the State.

Proposed by—Pir Tajuddin, Lahore.
Seconded by—Mr. Mohammad Sadiq, Amritsar.

1 9 2 4

24. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Annual Session held in Lahore on 25th May 1924, concerning bitter feelings between Hindus and Muslims.

The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the deplorable bitterness of feeling at present existing between the Hindus and Musalmans in the different parts of the country and strongly deprecates the tendency on the part of certain public bodies to aggravate the causes of difference between the two communities, thus doing incalculable harm to the national cause and while placing on record its firm conviction that no political progress is possible in this country unless it is based on a solid substratum of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that the in-

terests of the country demand mutual sacrifce and an intensive spirit of give and take on the part of all the communities, the League makes an earnest appeal to all public bodies to discontinue all activities savouring of aggression and to concentrate their efforts on the question of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis.

1924

25. Resolution of the annual session of the League held in Bombay on 31st December 1924, calling upon Muslims to use Swadeshi cloth.

That the All-India Muslim League hereby recommends that every member of the League should encourage the use of Swadeshi cloth to the entire exclusion of foreign cloth as far as possible.

1924

26. Resolution of the annual session of the League held in Bombay on 31st December 1924, regarding Indians in South Africa.

That the All-India Muslim League protests strongly against the action of the Legislature of the Union of South Africa in passing, and of the Governor-General-in-Council of the Union in assenting to, the Natal Boroughs Ordinance, which deprives Indians in Natal of the right to Municipal enfranchisement exercised by them continuously for over 40 years, and thus constitutes a breach of the 1914 settlement whilst it adds one more disability to those already suffered by the Indians of South Africa, in the enforcement against them of differential legislation based upon racial consideration. The League urges upon His Majesty's Government to disallow the said Ordinance as it is highly unjust and as it is the duty of the Imperial Government to protect the rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa and it further urges upon the Government of India to take all necessary steps for the removal of the grievances of the Indians in South Africa.

The League emphatically protests against the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923 which deprives Indians of their rights in Kenya and directly violates their status of legal equality, with other immigrant population, and the League demands, that in the interests of justice and good faith, energetic steps be taken by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to remove the stigma of racial inferiority placed upon the people of India by the decisions taken in pursuance of the said policy, and in particular with regard to the franchise and representation of Indians in the Legislature, and the reservation of a large area of the Colony, known as the Highlands for the exclusive use of white immigrants as a privileged minority community, under the pretext of the doctrine of Native Trusteeship.

The League protests against the unequal and unjust treatment meted out to Indians in the mandatory territory of Tanganyika in East Africa and calls upon the Government of India to take necessary steps without any further delay to represent their grievances at the next meeting of the League of Nations for redress.

Proposed by—Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalji, Bombay.
Seconded by—Mr. Ayub Khan, Karachi.
Supported by—Mr. Nair, Ahmedabad.

1925

27. Resolution condemning the policy of the Government of South Africa, passed on 31st December 1925 at Aligarh at the annual session of the Muslim League.

That the All-India Muslim League wholeheartedly supports the Indian settlers of South Africa in their just and honourable struggle against consolidated forces which threaten their very existence and extends its most cordial welcome to the South African Indian deputation now in India. The League views with the greatest apprehension and enters its emphatic protests against the Area Reservation and Immigration and

Registration (Further Provision) Bill which the Government of the Union of South Africa proposes to pass during the next Session of the Union Parliament.

The League further urges upon the Government of India to make a strong representation to the Union Government and secure a Round Table Conference before any further action is taken by the latter in respect of the proposed Bill, and should this reasonable proposal be declined and that Bill forced through the Union Parliament, the Muslim League appeals to the Imperial Government to withhold its assent and disallow the measure.

Proposed by—Mr. Asaf Ali, Delhi.
Seconded by—Malik Barkat Ali, Lahore.

1925

28. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League adopted on 30th and 31st December 1925, at Aligarh, on the status of Iraq as a part of Jaziratul Arab.

That the All-India Muslim League emphatically declares that Iraq is a part of Jaziratul Arab and as such should not be left under non-Muslim control of the British as the mandatory Power. The Muslim League protests against the recent decisions of the Council of the League of Nations which offers to the British an extension of their mandate over Iraq for twentyfive years. The Muslim League further protests against the Mosul decision of the Council of the League of Nations as a glaring injustice to Turkey. The Muslim League hopes that Britain will yet recognise the right of Turkey to the Mosul Vilayet and settle the question by peaceful negotiation. In the event of war breaking out the Muslim League considers that the feelings of the Musalmans of India are calculated to be inflamed beyond control throughout the country and may prove a great and serious disaster.

(Chair)

1925

29. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, passed on 30th and 31st December, 1925, at Aligarh, demanding setting up of Conciliation Boards for communal differences.

That whereas inter-communal unity is extremely necessary for the welfare and progress of the people and whereas conditions, political and religious, unfortunately exist in the country, on account of which a recrudescence of inter-communal differences takes place every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet such cases, the All-India Muslim League considers that conciliatory Boards, consisting of representatives of all communities, should be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict, and investigate and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community.

Proposed by—Mr. Masudul Hasan, Moradabad.
Seconded by—Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Allahabad.

1925

30. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, passed on 30th and 31st December, 1925, at Aligarh, demanding separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency.

That whereas there is no ground ethnological, geographical or otherwise for the inclusion of Sind within the Presidency of Bombay and whereas past experience has shown that such inclusion is in the highest degree detrimental to the best interests of the people of Sindh and to the development of that part of India, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that Sindh should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province.

Proposed by—Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, Poona.
Seconded by—Gul Mohammad Khan, Ferozpore.

31. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 30th and 31st December, 1925, at Aligarh, on the use of Urdu in the courts of Bihar and Orissa.

1925

That the All-India Muslim League strongly supports the Mussalmans of Bihar and Orissa in their demand for option to present their pleadings in the courts in that province in the Urdu script.
(Chair)

1925

32. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 30th and 31st December, 1925, at Aligarh, on the necessity of forming Cooperative Societies and Land Mortgage Banks.

That in view of the appalling expropriation of the Muslim Zamindars and exploitation of Muslim agriculturists and artisans it is imperative that Muslim leaders and associations should make every effort to induce Mussalmans to form Co-operative Societies and start Muslim Co-operative Stores and Land Mortgage Banks.

Proposed by—Mr. A. Rahim, Patna.
Seconded by—Mr. Masudul Hasan, Moradabad.

1925

33. Resolution of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Aligarh on 31st December, 1925, demanding adequate representation of Muslims in Government services.

That in the opinion of the All-India Muslim League it is imperative for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to take speedy and suitable steps to secure the

appointment of an adequate number of Mussalmans in the various departments of administration so that harmonious progress and development of the general population may be ensured and the administration may enjoy the full confidence of the entire community.

1926

34. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 29, 30th and 31st December, 1926, at Delhi, demanding Reforms in the North-Western Frontier Province.

That the All-India Muslim League regrets that the Government have not as yet taken any action regarding the question of reforms to be introduced to the North-Western Province, in spite of repeated demands of the Mussalmans of India for several years and the considered opinion of the Legislative Assembly embodied in its resolution which was carried in March 1926 without a division. The League urges once more that it is now high time that the Government should give effect to the recommendation of the Majority Report of the Bray Committee and thus allay the feelings and misapprehensions of the Mussalmans not only of N.F.W.P. but of all India, regarding this matter.

Proposed by—Mr. Abdul Aziz, Peshawar.
Second by—Syed Qaoim Shah, Peshawar.
Supported by—Dr. L. K. Hyder, Aligarh.
" Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Bombay.
" Sir Abdurrahim, Calcutta.
" Malik Barkat Ali, Lahore.

1926

35. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 29th, 30th and 31st December, 1926, at Delhi, on the future Constitution of India.

That the All-India Muslim League has repeatedly defined its position with regard to the real advance in the future constitution of India in its session in 1924 and 1925 and reaffirms the resolution passed at its session at Aligarh in December 1925 to the following effect, viz.,

That whereas the speedy attainment of full responsible government is one of the declared objects of the League and it is now generally felt and recognized that the conception of Swaraj should be translated into the realm of practical politics.

And whereas it is the declared policy of the British Government also to enable the people of India to take a decisive part in the moulding of their own destinies which is marked by the declaration of August 1917 and the enactment of 1919 which formed a definite epoch in the history of India as heralds of the time when India will possess full autonomy and will rank as an equal with the Dominions and with the United Kingdom itself as a member of the British Commonwealth.

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present Constitution of India must be amended and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919 and without any delay appoint a Royal Commission to formulate after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible Government in India and thereby secure stability in the Government, and the willing co-operation of the people.

Provided however that for any scheme of the future Constitution of India the All-India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, viz.,

(1) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite princi-

ple of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.

(2) The representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(3) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way effect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province.

(4) Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(5) No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interest of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable, to deal with such cases.

And the League hereby appoints a committee of the following gentlemen as the Central Committee in order to formulate a scheme, so far as possible in consultation with a committee or committees that may be appointed by other political organisations, and to report the same to the Council of the League for the consideration of the League, and for submision before the Royal Commission when it is appointed. The League appoints the following gentlemen to constitute provincial committees, with power to add to their number, to prepare

and define a scheme of future reforms to be submitted to the Central Committee for their consideration.

Members of the Central Committee:

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay), Sir Abdurrahim (Bengal), Mr. Abdul Aziz (Peshawar), Sir Mohammad Shafi (Punjab), Sheikh Abdul Qadir (Punjab), Moulvi Mohammad Yakub (U.P.), Sir Ali Imam (Patna), Pirzada Mohammad Husain (Delhi), M. Anisuddin Ahmad (Nagpur), Moulvi Saadullah (Assam), Syed Abdul Jabbar (Ajmere), Mohammad Mohsin Ali (Rangoon), Nawab Syed Mohammad Abdul Qayum (N.W.F.P.) and the Honorary Secretary of the League.

Provincial Committees:

For N.W.F.P. — Nawab Sir Sahebzada Abdul Qayum, M Abdul Aziz, Sirdar Aurangzeb Khan, Qazi Mir Ahmad Khan, Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, Sheikh Mohammad Shafi, Syed Qaim Shah, Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Fateh Mohammad Khan, Mohammad Sarwar Khan, Haji Jan Mohammad.

For the Punjab — Sir Mohammad Shafi, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq, Syed Mohsin Shah, Sheikh Din Mohammad, Pir Tajuddin, Malik Barkat Ali, Khawaja Gul Mohammad, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Syed Ghulam Bheek, Moulvi Mahboob Alum.

For Delhi—K. B. Pirzada Mohammad Husain, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mirza Ijaz Husain, Mohammad Tamizuddin Khan, Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq, Mohammad Azmatullah.

For U.P. — Munshi Ehtisham Ali, Syed Zahur Ahmad, Chaudhri Niamatullah, Masudul Hasan, K. B. Syed Alay Nabi, Sheikh Abdullah, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Hafiz Hedayat Husain, Maulvi Mohammad Yakoob, M. Maqbool Alum, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan.

For Bengal — Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Ghaznavi, Moulvi Abul Qasim, K. B. Azizul Haq, Prof A. F. Rahman, Moulvi Fazlul Haq, Mr. S. M. Masih.

For Bombay — Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Mr. M. C. Chagla.

For C.P. — Anisuddin Ahmad, M. Abdul Qadir, Mr. Natiq, Mr. Mohammad Yaseen, Mr. Ghulam Mohiudin.

For Madras — Seth Yakub Hasan, Chaudhri Abdul Hakim, Syed Murtaza Bahadur, Mr. Mohammad Shareef.

For other Provinces — As the Council of the All-India Muslim League will determine.

Proposed by—Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bombay.
Seconded by—Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu, Amritsar.
Supported by—Sir Abdurrahim, Calcutta.
" Ghulam Saiyedain, Aligarh.
" Malik Barkat Ali, Lahore.
" Mr. M. C. Chagla, Bombay.

1927

36. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 30th and 31st December, 1927, at Calcutta, concerning attitude to be adopted by Muslims at the forthcoming National Convention.

The All-India Muslim League authorises the Muslim League Council to appoint a Sub-Committee to confer with the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and such other organisations as they deem proper . . . for the purpose of drafting a constitution for. . which the interests of the Muslim community . . safeguarded, having regard to the following proposals which the League approves of and adopts, and subsequently take part in the National Convention

which is going to take place in Delhi in March next as suggested by the Congress :

(1) That Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province;

(2) That reforms should be introduced in the North-Western Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces ;

(3) That in the present circumstances the representation of Muslims in the different Legislatures of the country through separate Muslim electorates is inevitable, and that Muslims will not accept any scheme involving the surrender of this valued right unless and until Sindh is actually made a separate province and the reforms aforesaid are actually introduced in the North-Western Frontier and Baluchistan Provinces, and that when these requirements are fully satisfied, Muslims will be prepared to abandon separate electorates in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats fixed on the basis of the population of the different communities, subject to what is related hereinafter ;

(4) In Sindh, Baluchistan and the North-Western Provinces the Muslim majority should make the same concession in regard to proportion of the seats reserved to the Hindu minority that Hindu majorities in other Provinces would make to Muslim minorities over and above the proportion of population of the Provinces which shall be the minimum basis.

(5) In the Central Legislature the Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.

The League further resolves (a) that in the future constitution of India liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed, and no legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with the liberty of conscience. "Liberty of conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association, and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others, and without interfering with the similar rights of others ; (b) that no bill, resolution, motion, or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected thereby in that legislature, oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, the resolution, motion or amendment, "Inter-communal matters" means matters agreed upon as such by the joint standing committee of both communities of the Hindu and Muslim members of the legislatures concerned, appointed at the commencement of every session of that legislature.

This League resolves that without prejudice to the rights that the Hindus and Mussalmans claim, the one to play music and conduct processions wherever they please, and the other to slaughter cows for sacrifice or food wherever they please, the Mussalmans appeal to the Mussalmans to spare Hindu feelings as much as possible in the matter of cow slaughter, and trust that the Hindus will appeal to the Hindus to spare Mussalman feelings as much as possible in the matter of music before mosques, and this League calls upon both the Hindus and Mussalmans not to have recourse to violence or to law to prevent the slaughter of a cow or the playing of music before a mosque.

This League further resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or re-convert another by argument or pursuasion, but that no individual or group shall attempt to do so or prevent its being done by force, fraud or other unfair means, such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be con-

verted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardians by persons of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time and manner about any conversion or re-conversion, nor should there be any demonstration or jubilation in support of any conversion or any re-conversion. Wherever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or re-conversion that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means, or wherever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed jointly by the two communities.

Proposed by—Malik Barkat Ali (Punjab).
Seconded by—Maulvi Waheed Husain (Bengal).

1928

37. On 24th June, 1928, Allama Iqbal submitted his resignation as Secretary of the All-India Muslim League.

As you know I have been suffering from a slight indisposition since middle of May last and had gone recently to Delhi for treatment.

On my return on June 21, I found the substance of the League's memorandum to the Simon Commission published in the Press.

You are aware that I had expressed my difference of opinion relating to some important points—principally the question of provincial autonomy—in the first meeting of the Draft Committee which was held at the President's residence.

The original draft was merely tentative meant for eliciting opinion from other members of the League, a large number of whom expressed their opinions in due course regarding the various points discussed in the original draft.

A final draft was prepared after the receipt of these opinions but by that time I had unfortunately fallen ill and was for this reason unable to attend the discussion of the final draft.

I now find that the extract of the League memorandum as published in the Press makes no demand for full provincial autonomy and suggests a unitary form of provincial government in which law, order and justice should be placed under the direct charge of the Governor. It is hardly necessary for me to say that this suggestion is only a veiled form of diarchy and means no constitutional advance at all.

Since I still stick to my opinion, which I expressed at the first meeting of the Draft Committee, that the All-India Muslim League should demand full provincial autonomy (which, in my opinion, is the demand of the whole Punjab Muslim community), I ought not in the circumstances remain Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. Kindly accept my resignation.

1929

38. "Jinnah's fourteen points", March 1929

"(1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.

"(2) A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

"(3) All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.

"(4) In the Central Legislature, Mussalman representation shall not be less than one-third.

"(5) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present; pro-

vided it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

"(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not, in any way, affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F. Province.

"(7) Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

"(8) No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interest of the community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

"(9) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

"(10) Reforms should be introduced in the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other Provinces.

"(11) Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians, in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

"(12) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by the self-governing bodies.

"(13) No Cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

"(14) No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation."

1930

39. Maulana Mohammed Ali's speech at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference in London on 19th Nov., 1930. "Freedom or death" he said. About six weeks later he died and was buried in Jerusalem.

Mr. Chairman, may I exercise the privilege of the invalid and remain seated? My friend, Dr. Moonje, has explained his position as to how he has been called a traitor to his country. I think we are bracketed together here again. As he knows very well, on the day when he and I were to depart from India black flags were to be flown to wish us Godspeed, and the wishes of people with whom we had been working all these years were that the boat "Viceroy of India" might prove very unseaworthy. Even when I came to this country one newspaper in England which I have helped to stabilise financially—I am very glad to see it has a million sale today—the "Daily Herald", published my photograph and called me a convert—I suppose a convert from patriotism to treachery. There is in Parliament, besides the Conservative peer who spoke yesterday frankly and sincerely, another very Conservative gentleman, who was my tutor professor at Oxford, Sir Charles Oman and it is from history that I quote one short sentence which formed the subject of one of the questions asked us in the Indian Civil Service Examination, for which I appeared and failed: "The Saracen alone it was impossible to convert." I do not claim to have in me Aryan blood like all the white people here and Dr. Moonje. I have the blood in me which my Lord Reading—who sent me to prison—has perhaps running

in his veins. I am a Semite and if he has not been converted from Zionism, I too am not converted from Islam, and my anchor holds. I am the only person belonging to my party who has been selected by His Excellency the Viceroy, or the Government of His Majesty here, or whoever it is who has appointed these wonderful Delegates. Whose Delegates we are we do not know. I do not pretend to represent anybody; but I will say this much, and I feel certain that when you have heard me—I hope patiently—you will say that I am right in my claim, that at least I am not misrepresenting myself, and I think that should be enough. In politics there is too much misrepresentation even of oneself.

In reply to Lord Peel, I will only quote to him from an English poet as I did when we were going through the lobby. I said, "I hope your Lordship is a Conservative and will remain a Conservative; because the only definition that I read of a Conservative was in Tennyson, who said,

> "He is the best Conservative
> Who lops the mouldered branch away."

I think those ideas which Lord Peel expressed, very sincerely and frankly, really represent the mouldered branch which should be lopped away. This is my only answer to him. As regards the other Conservative, our own Prince from India, namely His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Rewa, I am not quite sure about his conservatism. If he takes Burke to be a Conservative, and quotes him at the end of his speech, I would say: "Be a Conservative and stick to it, for, quoting Burke, His Highness said. "Small minds and large empires go ill together". If the British Empire—call it Empire, call it Commonwealth of Nations, whatever you choose to call it I do not care—if the British Empire desires to remain big, the small minds that have been visible and audible only too long must disappear. If you had followed Burke, you would not have lost America, and you would not be talking of parity today in building warships. There should be much more talk of charity. And you would not have all those debts to pay. You would

not have all that worry. You would not have to go so often to Geneva to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. How long that preparation is going to take Heaven only knows. All these things came in because you forgot your greatest politician, your greatest statesman, who was the man who, in the House of Commons, was called the "dinner bell," because when Burke got up to speak you all left and went to the dining room. You still do that to people who are like Burke, and I therefore say—and I quote him once again—"Men, not measures." I do not care what constitution you prepare for us but all would be well if you have got one man in England who is a real man.

> "Oh God! for a man with heart, head, hand,
> Like some of the simple great ones gone
> For ever and ever by.
> One still strong man in a blatant land,
> Whatever they call him, what care I ?
> Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat—one
> Who can rule and dare not lie."

I hope my old friend Mr. MacDonald will at least prove the man to rule, and that he would not dare to lie to his own Party, to his own conscience, to his dead wife, and to his living country; and if you people of all parties assist him, as you should, I assure you we will make history. But even more than I trust my old friend Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, I, a republican, make this confession, that I place my trust in the man—I call him a man, because "a man's a man for a' that"—who inaugura-ed this Conference in the Gallery of the House of Lords, whose name is George. Whether you call him His Majesty or what-ever you call him, he is a man! He knows India better than any of his Ministers, past or present, and I am looking up to him to do justice to the 320 millions who constitute one-fifth of the whole of humanity, and I am strengthened in that belief by the wonderful patriotism shown by the Princes arrayed over there, the conservative element in India. It must be a revelation to my Lord Peel and to my Lord Reading; it is no revelation to me. I am again a unique person. While I am a British subject—though

I was yet being excluded from the Indian Civil Service Examination because they said I was not a "natural born British subject"—provisionally they admitted me, till evidence from my mother came in, and they finally admitted me—I happen also to be subject of an Indian State, and probably in that respect too I am a unique person in this Conference. I was born in a State; I have served in that State. I have served in another State, Baroda—my master, the Gaekwar is here; I ate his salt for seven years—and when I was dying two years ago it was an Indian Prince, His Highness of Alwar, who sent me at his own cost his own doctor here. When I was supposed to be going to die once more at Simla, it was a Prince, whom I was once about to teach as a private tutor, the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal, who exercised the truest hospitality —which the British are not yet exercising—he turned his guest-house into a hospital for me. The British will be extending their hospitality to me in the letter as well as they are doing in the spirit, if they make me a free patient in every hospital that there is. When I was sent to Simla to the hospital I made a judicious separation between two fiances, a lady on one side and a military officer on the other, who were to be married very shortly. I occupied a room between them! Both were ailing. The lady asked our doctor, when she saw a strange looking Indian coming into the European quarters, "What is this old man ailing from." The doctor said, "Ask me rather what the old man is not ailing from". A man with my dilated heart; with my approaching and recurrent blindness through retinitis; with my once gangrened foot, with neuritis —this huge bulking foot through oedema; with albuminaria; with diabetes, and the whole long list that I could give you if Colonel Gidney would not think I was becoming his rival as a medical man, I say no sane man with all these ailments would have travelled seven miles. And yet I have come seven thousand miles over land and sea because, where Islam and India are concerned, I am mad, and, as the "Daily Herald" puts it, I am a "convert"; from a "rebel" against the Government, I have become a "traitor" to my country, and I am now working "with the Government". I say I can work even with the Devil if it is to be, like this work, in the cause of God.

I hope you will forgive this long introduction about my ill-health and ailments and all sorts of things; but the fact is that today the one purpose for which I came is this—that I want to go back to my country if I can go back with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a foreign country so long as it is a free country and if you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here.

I begin with the Conservatives by thanking them. When I met Mr. Baldwin at the dinner which the Government hospitality provided for us, when I was really very ill and ought to have been in bed, I was watching for the cherrywood pipe, and, thank God, it came out. So I went to Mr. Baldwin, and I said, "In two ways you have made history. Although a Conservative belonging to a party of the so-called idle rich, you have at least been human enough to establish this rule, that where only Coronas could be smoked after dinner an honest man could now bring out his shag, put it into a cherrywood pipe, as I used to do at Oxford, and smoke it". But, as I told him, he has done another historic thing also. He has sent out a Conservative Viceroy of the type of Lord Irwin. If any man has saved the British Empire today, it is that tall, thin Christian. If Lord Irwin was not there today, heaven only knows what would have happened. At least I would not be the "convert" I am supposed to be. We should not have been at this Round Table. It is for the sake of peace, friendship and freedom that we have come here and I hope we shall go back with all that; if we do not, we go back into the ranks of fighters where we were ten years before. They may now call us traitors to the country. You may then call us rebels or outlaws. We do not care.

I have said something about His Excellency Lord Irwin, but I do not wish to associate all that with his Government. They have woefully mismanaged things. The only good point about their Despatch is that it has provided us with another "historic document". The Simon Commission's Report is not the only document we have to consider. The Despatch is a most

disappointing document. The best thing we can do after it is to create our own "historic document" here. The best hearts and the best brains of two big countries are assembled here. Many who ought to have been here are still in gaol in India. Mr. Jayakar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and I tried our hands at peace-making between the Viceroy and Gandhiji, but we failed. I was the first in the field, but failed. I hope we shall not fail when we go back to our country this time, carrying with us the substance of freedom.

Lord Peel said, "Oh, yes, but when you go back to your country with a constitution such as you want, those people who are not co-operating will wrest it from your hands". Wrest it! When I fight the British I can fight the Indians too. But give me something to fight for. Do not let me have to take back from here a charter of slavery and then expect me to fight my own people. I could not do it, and if I tried to do it, I should fail. But with freedom in our hands I would gladly go back to those in whose name my friend, Mr. Jayakar, spoke. He claimed to speak for Young India. I think he knows that, although I am older than him in years, I am a younger man in heart, in spirit, in temperament and in love of fighting. I was non-co-operating when Mr. Jayakar was still practising in the law courts. (Mr. Jayakar shook his head.) Anyhow he was not in gaol with me. My brother and I were the very first to be sent to gaol by Lord Reading. I bear him no grudge for that; but I want the power also, when Lord Reading goes wrong again in India, to send him to gaol.

I have not come to ask for Dominion Status. I do not believe in the attainment of Dominion Status. The one thing to which I am committed is complete independence. In Madras in 1927, we passed a resolution making that our goal. In 1928, in the Convention of All-Parties, the adoption of the Nehru Report Constitution was moved, the very first clause of which was about Dominion Status. Even my old secretary, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress today, was kept down by his father. There is a Persian proverb which says: "Be a dog, do not be a younger brother". And when you

see my big brother over there, "seven feet by five", as Colonel Wedgwood called him, you can well believe, I believe, in this Persian proverb. In the case of Jawaharlal I would say, "Be a cat, do not be the son of your father". For it was his father who, as President of the Congress, throttled poor Jawaharlal at Calcutta in 1928. Well I got up in his place, when he could not speak for complete independence, and I opposed the clause dealing with Dominion Status. But in 1929 I would not go further like Jawaharlal and make it my creed, because once we make it our creed in the Congress, we cannot admit anybody into the Congress who does not hold that creed. I liked to keep the door open for negotiation. I would not like to slam the door in the face of anybody. His Excellency Lord Irwin, a Conservative Viceroy, was "the man on the spot". And he was sufficiently impressed by what he saw on the spot and came here. When we come to London we hear that everybody is appealing to "the man in the street." Whether "the man in the street" is ever heard or not, I do not know; but Lord Rathermere and Lord Beaverbrook and everybody else always talk about "the man in the street" as the final court of appeal. In India it is always "the man on the spot". Well, "the man on the spot" came here and he talked to the leading "man in the street", who is presiding here. I am sure he preached to the converted. They brought round Mr. Baldwin also; they brought round some Conservatives; they brought round everybody they could and made the announcement that Dominion Status was meant, when in 1917 they said "Responsible Government". That cleared the fog which had been created in a very memorable meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924 by the officer in charge of the Home Department at the time, who I am glad is present here today.

As I said two or three days ago, India has put on fifty-league boots. We are making forced marches which will astonish the world and we will not go back to India unless a new Dominion is born. If we go back to India without the birth of a new Dominion we shall go back, believe me, to a lost Dominion. We shall go back to an America. Then you will witness, not within the British Commonwealth or the British Empire, but

outside it, with the Indian Princes, with Dr. Moonje, with Mr. Jayakar, with myself and my brother a Free and United States of India. It will be something more than that. As I wrote shortly after leaving Oxford long years ago, in India we shall have something better than an America, because we shall not only have a United States, but we shall have United Faiths.

> "Not like to like, but like in difference;
> Self-reverent each and reverencing each;
> Distinct in individualities,
> But like each other, e'en as those who love."

It is with these passions surging in our hearts that we have come here. It now depends upon our Conservative friends, upon our Radical friends, upon our Labour friends, and still more upon the one man whom I trust more in England than anybody else—His Majesty King George, the grandson of Victoria the Good, whose love for India nobody dare deny. Her whole life was the Magna Charta of India, and in her grandson's time history will be written again like this: "George III lost America. George V won India"!

We are told that there are difficulties. It is said, "Look at the States". But I come from the States, and I know they present no difficulty whatever. "Then there is the Army". Well what about the Army? It is the biggest indictment against Great Britain that the Army is not ours today, and if you ever use that excuse of the Army you will condemn yourselves out of your own mouths. Let me tell you frankly and honestly, but in a friendly way, that your greatest sin was the emasculation of India.

I am glad to hear my friend, Dr. Moonje, say "Hear, hear". I was very sorry to hear him talk about our people being fired upon and therefore running away for a time and then coming back. We have 320,000,000 of people. When they can afford to die in millions from famine and from plagues, surely they can afford to die from British bullets too. That is the lesson which Gandhiji wanted to teach us, and that is the lesson

which we must learn now. In 1913 I was in this country when Gandhiji was leading his movement in South Africa. Mr. G. K. Chesterton presided over a meeting in the Essex Hall, he called upon me to speak. Other speakers had spoken of Gandhi's new philosophy. I said, "Please understand one thing about that. Whether it is his philosophy or Tolstoy's, Jesus Christ's or mine, it is the universal human philosophy". Nobody wins in a battle if there is merely the will to kill. You must have the will to die even before the will to kill. In India we have not the power to kill, but the moment we develop the will to die, numbers will tell: 320,000,000 of people cannot be killed. There is no mechanization for which you can find money to kill 320,000,000 people. Even if you have got that mechanization, even if you have got the material, you have not the morale (or immorale) to dare to kill 320,000,000 people. We must have in us the will to die for the birth of India as a free and united nation. And this we are fast developing. When this has been fully developed, what can you do? I do not for a moment imagine that you could find in all England a hundred men so hard-hearted and callous as to fire for long on unarmed and non-violent people ready to die for the freedom of their country. No; I do not think so badly of English soldiers.

The real problem which is upsetting us all the time has been the third problem—this Hindu-Muslim problem; but that is no problem at all. The fact is that the Hindu-Muslim difficulty, like the Army difficulty, is of your own creation. But not altogether. It is the old maxim of "divide and rule." But there is a division of labour here. We divide and you rule. The moment we decide not to divide you will not be able to rule as you are doing today. With this determination not to be divided we have come here. Let me assure every British man and woman who thinks of shaping our destinies that the only quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims today is the quarrel that the Muslim is afraid of Hindu domination and the Hindu, I suppose, is afraid of Muslim domination. (Dr. Moonje: No, the Hindu is never afraid.) Well I am very glad to hear that. In my country the she-buffalo attacks only when she is afraid and whatever the reverence of the Hindu for the cow, I am glad

he has never the fear of the she-buffalo. I want to get rid of that fear. The very fact that Hindus and Muslims are quarrelling today shows that they will not stand British domination either for one single minute. That is the point to grasp. British domination is doomed over India. Is our friendship doomed also? My brother took service under the Government and served it for 17 years, but he did one thing for me. He sent me to Oxford. He was always taunting me in the non-co-operation days by saying: "You have a soft corner in your heart for that place called Oxford". I must admit that I had. I spent four years there, and I always carry with me the most pleasant recollections of that time, and I want to keep that feeling. I do have a very soft corner in my heart for my Alma Mater. But I can taunt my brother, too. When he was being tried at Karachi—when the jury let us off, and there was a British juryman among them, they voted for our release because we were such a sporting lot—my big brother said: "Even if it becomes my duty to kill the first Englishman I come across, if he happens to have blue eyes, my knife will not work; because I shall think of the eyes of Theodore Beck, my late Principal at my old College, Aligarh." There are several Aligarh Old Boys here, and they can bear witness to the fact that we who were brought up at Aligarh by Beck could never be without a soft corner in our hearts for Englishmen. Therefore, even if British domination is doomed—and it must be killed here—do not let us kill British friendship. We have a soft corner in our hearts for Great Britain. Let us retain it, I beseech you.

One word as to the Muslim position, with which I shall deal at length on some other occasion. Many people in England ask us why this question of Hindu and Muslim comes into politics and what it has to do with these things. I reply, "It is a wrong conception of religion that you have, if you exclude politics from it. It is not dogma; it is not ritual! Religion, to my mind means the interpretation of life". I have a culture, a polity, an outlook on life—a complete synthesis which is Islam. Where God commands I am a Muslim first, a Muslim second, and a Muslim last, and nothing but a Muslim. If you ask me to enter into your Empire or into your Nation by leaving that

synthesis, that polity, that culture, that ethics, I will not do it. My first duty is to my Maker, not to H. M. the King, nor to my companion, Dr. Moonje; my first duty is to my Maker, and that is the case with Dr. Moonje also. He must be a Hindu first, and I must be a Muslim first, so far as that duty is concerned. But where India is concerned, where India's freedom is concerned, I am an Indian first, an Indian second, an Indian last, and nothing but an Indian.

I belong to two circles of equal size, but which are not concentric. One is India, and the other is the Muslim world. When I came to England in 1920 at the head of the Khilafat delegation, my friends said: "You must have some sort of a crest for your stationery." I decided to have it with two circles on it. In one circle was the world "India"; in the other circle was Islam, with the word "Khilafat". We as Indian Muslims come in both circles. We belong to these two circles, each of more than 300 millions, and we can leave neither. We are not nationalists but supernationalists, and I as a Muslim say that "God made man and the Devil made the nation." Nationalism divides; our religion binds. No religious wars, no crusades, have seen such holocausts and have been so cruel as your last war, and that was a war of your nationalism, and not my Jehad.

But where our country is concerned, where the question of taxation is concerned, where our crops are concerned, where the weather is concerned, where all associations in those thousands of matters of ordinary life are concerned, which are for the welfare of India, how can I say "I am a Muslim and he is a Hindu"? Make no mistake about the quarrels between Hindu and Muslim; they are founded only on the fear of domination. If there is one other sin with which I charge Great Britain, in addition to the sin of emasculating India, it is the sin of making wrong histories about India and teaching them to us in our schools, with the result that our schoolboys have learnt wrong Indian history. The quarrels which are sometimes visible in our streets on certain holidays or quarrels the motives of which have been instilled into the hearts of our

so-called intelligentsia—I call it unintelligentsia—by the wrong history taught us in our schools for political purposes. If that feeling, which writes "Revenche" so large over the politics of certain people in India, existed as it does, and if it existed to the extent which it does today, and the Muslims were everywhere in a minority of 25 per cent and the Hindus were everywhere in a majority of 66 per cent, I could see no ray of hope today; but thanks to the jerrymandering of our saints and our soldiers, if there are Provinces like that of my friend Dr. Moonje, in which I am only 4 per cent, there are other provinces where I am 93 per cent, as in the Province of my friend Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, for which we demand equal freedom. There is the old Province of Sind, where the Muslims first landed, where they are 73 per cent; in the Punjab they are 56 per cent, and in Bengal 55 per cent. That gives us our safeguard, for we demand hostages as we have willingly given hostages to Hindus in the other Provinces where they form huge majorities.

I want you to realise that for the first time you are introducing a big revolution into India; for the first time majority rule is to be introduced into India. In the days of Lord Rama there was no majority rule, or he would not have been exiled. The old Pandu and Kuru rulers, who gambled their kingdoms away, did not have majority rule; Mahmud of Ghazni and Akbar and Aurangzeb did not have majority rule, nor did Shivaji; when Ranjit Singh ruled in the Punjab, he too did not have majority rule; when Warren Hastings and Clive ruled India, they did not have majority rule; and even in the days of Lord Irwin there is no majority rule. For the first time in India, we are going to introduce majority rule, and I, belonging to a minority community, accept that majority rule, although I know very well that if 51 people say that 2 and 2 make 5, and 49 people say that 2 and 2 make 4, the fact that 51 say that 2 and 2 make 5 does not cause them to make 5. Still I am prepared to submit to majority rule. Luckily, however, there are Muslim majorities in certain Provinces, and with the federal form of government which is suited to India, not only for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, but is essential for the sake of the Princes also, this is in our favour. The centrifugal and

centripetal tendencies are so well balanced in India that we are bound to have a federal system of government there, not as a distant ideal, as the Government of India says, but today, now this minute. We shall leave this conference only with federation established in India, with new treaties made with the Princes, with the consent of the Crown and the Princes.

I sometimes hear it said that nothing can be done without the consent of the Princes. No, Your Highness, we Our Lownesses, will do nothing without your consent. But when, at the end of 1857, the powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, nobody ever thought of asking for your consent. There was not so much as "By your leave.' Your relationship with the Crown was established merely ipso facto, but it was with a family of Kings and Queens who were really good people, many of whom worshipped their conscience as their King, and it is that which gives us hope.

One more word and I have done. I wish to say just this about the Army. I am giving away a secret in regard to the Army now. When ten years ago, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught was sent out to India to open the Indian Legislature, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and myself were invited by our late lamented dear friend C. R. Das, whom our eyes seek in vain today at this Table, and who would have brought Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi also to this Table had he been alive today, for he was a man of imagination. Gandhiji and I were putting up together as the guests of Das, and I was acting as Lord Chamberlain to Mahatma Gandhi. Any number of people were coming to see Mahatma Gandhi and to touch his feet—I wish he had had the feet of a centipede, but even then he could not have coped with the thousands who came to touch his feet—and in trying to satisfy them and spare Gandhiji, too, as much as possible, my life was a misery. Amongst these people I saw 10 or 12 tall turbaned men, not in uniform, but looking and dressed very much alike. I thought they were members of the C.I.D. from the Punjab. My belief, after my arrest and internment in 1915 on the report of a spy neighbour, is that there is no place where God and the British

C.I.D. are not present, so that whatever I say and whatever I do, I say and do in the belief that God Almighty and the British spy are equally omnipresent! I went up to these supposed British spies, and I said: "What can I do for you? I have been doing a lot for the C.I.D. by way of sedition and I should like to do something more." They said : "We do not belong to the C.I.D.; we belong to the Army." "Then what," I asked, "are you doing in this seditious house?" They said: "We have come to pay our respects to Mahatma Gandhi; we belong to the escort that has been brought from Poona for the Duke of Connaught." I said if they wanted to see Mahatma Gandhi I would take them in straightaway. Mahatama Gandhi asked them whether they were interested in Swaraj, and they said: "Yes". Out of respect for the British Indian Army, I will now stand up and repeat their words. Gandhiji said to them: "Are you interested in Swaraj, you who belong to the Army, and who have been brought as an escort all the way from Poona because they cannot trust the people of Bengal, their first Presidency, for the saftey of the Duke of Connaught"? They said, "Only the other day our Colonel on parade told us laughingly something about you, Gandhiji, saying, 'Do you know that bunia, Gandhiji, wants Swaraj for India' and he laughed, and asked us: "Do you also want Swaraj?' Of course he expected we would all say 'No, Sir', but the regiment very quietly said 'Yes, Sir, we also want Swaraj for India." Then the Colonel, who was terribly shocked, asked them why they wanted Swaraj, and they told him that when they were sent to fight in Europe, even when they saw Belgian soldiers coming back after a defeat, these soldiers would pull themselves up and proudly reply to anyone who asked who they were, 'we are Belgians; we belong to the Army of Belgium'. Sometimes the French came running back but if anybody asked them who they were, they drew themselves up and replied with pride that they belonged to the Army of France. It was the same with the British; but these men said that, even when they had won and had saved the French coast at a critical moment in October, 1914, when anybody asked them who they were, they could not say with equal pride that they belonged to the Army of India; they had to say 'We are British subjects. We belong to the Army of the British

Sirkar'. Now these men said that they too wanted to stand upright and be able to say, 'We belong to the Army of India!' I tell you this is the fact, God's own truth, about the Indian Army. You take a plebiscite of the Indian Army, God Almighty being present, and the British spies, of course, being also present, but some of us also being present, and you will find that we know more than anybody else on that subject. India will defend herself today if you honestly want her to do so.

The Government of India Despatch goes further than Sir John Simon's Report and says that the Army should not be under the control of the Government of England but under the Government of India. There are three members of the Government of India the pigment of whose skin is the same as mine, and in some cases even darker. Two of them were my stable companions in England as students, and the third also studied here at that time. If these people can control the Army, why cannot Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Prime Minister of India? Why cannot Sir Muhammad Shafi or Mr. Jinnah be Prime Minister of India, and control the Indian Army? Or why cannot even a humble man like myself or my big brother become the Commander-in-Chief of India? I have no doubt exhausted your patience, but I can assure you my speech has been, so far as I too am concerned, both exhausting and exhaustive. I now take my seat and I hope I shall not be called upon to speak again in the Plenary Conference until you announce, Mr. Chairman, that India is as free as England.

1930

40. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 29th and 30th December, 1930, at Allahabad, on the future Constitution of India.

That the All-India Muslim League is emphatically of opinion that the Mussalmans of India will not be satisfied with any constitution that does not guarantee (a) Full Muslim representation on population basis in the Legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal, (b) Constitution of Sind into a separate

Province forthwith and without any condition, (c) Conferment of full powers on the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan.

This League declares that the Muslim insistence of the adoption of the Federal Constitution of India is contingent upon the clear understanding that the above mentioned units shall, in the matter of provincial autonomy, be treated on the same footing as the other components of the Federation.

Proposed by—Moulvi Abdul Majid Saheb, Sind
Seconded by—Moulvi Abdul Qadir Saheb, Kasur

1 9 3 0

41. **Excerpt from the speech of Allama Iqbal in December 1930 at Allahabad, as President of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League.**

"To base a constitution on the conception of a homogeneous India or to apply to India the principles dictated by British democratic sentiments is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war............self-government with the British Empire or in about it, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of Muslims, at least of North-West India........I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its laws, its education, its culture and to bring them into close contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times".

1 9 3 0

42. **Resolution passed on 30th December, 1930, in the Annual Session of the League at Allahabad appreciating the work done by Muslim delegates to the First Round Table Conference.**

That the All-India Muslim League while appreciating the united efforts of the Muslim members to the Round Table Conference in giving faithful expression to Muslim opinion, strongly supports the resolution passed by the All-India Muslim Conference at Delhi on the 1st January, 1929, under the presidentship of H.H. Sir Aga Khan and hopes that the Muslim members will continue to abide by that resolution.

Proposed by—Syed Habib Shah Saheb, Lahore.

Seconded by—Sh. Zahur Ahmad Saheb, Allahabad.

Supported by—Dr. Mufti Mohammed Sadiq, Qadian.

1931-33

43. Letters written by Quaid-e-Azam from England to Abdul Matin Choudhury, while he was in political retirement.

Whitehall Court, S.W. 1,
25th March 31

My Dear Matin,

I was so pleased to hear from you. Well! I have come to the conclusion that I can be more useful here at any rate for the present. The centre of gravity is here and in the next two or three years London will be the most important scene of the Indian drama of Constitutional reforms. However I am coming to India in August in any case and shall consider how the land lies then. You must have got a copy of the blue book showing what my attitude was at the R.T.C.

(1) Responsibility at the Centre provided Hindu Muslim question is settled.

(2) Federation—if it can be genuine and real, not artificial or fictitious.

(3) Safeguards—only those which are necessary to the interests of India.

(4) Defence—a definite scheme which will lead to India taking it over within a reasonable time.

I have not agreed to safeguards proposed nor to the all-India Federation on the lines so far explored. These two questions require all the care and statesmanship to handle.

Now, with regard to the Assembly. Well I am glad to find that you and others have such regard for me. I appreciate it more than I can express in words, but I can think I can do more useful work here at present.

You must have read that they have decided to hold a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee here in summer and R.T.C. soon thereafter. I think our people, if they are well advised, should not allow any delay but agree to meet here in May, and proceed with the R.T.C. soon thereafter. Our opponents are playing for time and wish to put off the matter and we should not play in their hands.

Hoping you are well.
With best regards and wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah

Private & Confidential.

2nd March '32

Dear Matin,

It never rains but pours so suddenly. I have got two letters from you one after the other. I was pleased to hear from you and learn the news. Do keep me in touch with things. Of course we get news every day of the happenings in India but it is not the same. Yet one can read between the lines. The Mussalmans must stand united and I agree that there should be one organisation. I hope you would succeed in the amalgamation scheme. If the Muslim leaders know how to play their cards, I am sure the community will get what they want and

after all it is not much. You cannot live on safeguards, but on your own merits and exertions. The community is very backward and has to make up a lot.

As regard the Hindus I think they are very ill-advised not to concede to the Mohamedans their safeguards. They are creating more difficulties in their own way and postponing the day when India shall get her freedom and very much strengthening those who are opposed to self-government. However, there it is! The only course open to the Mussalmans now is that they must with one voice stand by 14 points and not be made a tool in the hands of anyone. Responsibility at the Centre provided our safeguards are incorporated in the Constitution. But don't fall into the trap of Provincial Autonomy first and Central responsibility will be considered later. It will not succeed. The British want our co-operation and support, it can only be on our safeguards plus responsibility at the Centre being agreed to. If Hindus want our co-operation and support it can only be on their agreeing to our safeguards and self-government. Within the British Commonwealth of Nations we cannot support one or the other except on these terms. If we are not wanted by either, let them do what they like and we shall not be a consenting party. I am sure they cannot ignore 80 millions, specially if they stand together to organise themselves. With kind regards from my sister and self. Dina is at school.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

West Heath House,
West Heath Road,
Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1st December, 32.

Dear Matin,

Many thanks for your letter which was very useful as you explain matters so clearly. I had come to the same conclu-

sion, reading between the lines. But now things are clear and I understand the Allahabad Agreement better.

As regard the Conference, well I can't add much to my forecast which has already appeared in the Indian newspapers. Well, it won't be long before we know the achievements. I hope you will regularly write to me and keep me in touch with what is going on. Ottowa Question will be decided before you get this. Of course when people are divided, what do you expect? It is the fate of India.

With kinds regards from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours Sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah.

West Heath House,
West Heath Road,
Hampstead, N.W. 3.
30th March, 33.

Dear Matin,

My congratulations. I was so pleased that you have succeeded in getting the Deputy Presidentship.

As regards other matters, I thank you for all the information. Yes, I have received a telegram, and of course I appreciate the compliment paid to me by the League, but I cannot return to India before December next. Besides I don't see what I can do there at present. You very rightly suggest that I should enter the Assembly. But is there much hope in doing anything there. These are questions which still make me feel that there is no room for my services in India, yet I am sorry to repeat, but there is no chance of doing anything to save India till the Hindus realise the true position. It is within their power to change the situation. The reactionary forces must and will flourish. They are increasing and will gain more and more

ground. Mussalmans are driven away and must fall into the hand of our opponents. The key is held by the Hindus and they alone can turn the tide by a wise and bold stroke of policy. The position with regard to the future constitutional developments is obvious. Provincial Autonomy only. Federation will remain suspended in the air. The Hindus are being fooled. But by chance any scheme goes through, it will be worse than what is at present and those who are now supporting will find that they have been deceived.

Thank you for your suggestion that I should try and stand for election as Sir Ibrahim is going to resign. Well! I can't say till I come to India as I am due in December, at any rate for a few months.

I gather from the newspapers that the Hindu attitude is changing though somewhat slowly, but things are moving too fast here; and it would be too late.

It is said that all out efforts have gone in vain and there is a tremendous setback, but at present there is nothing to save the situation. We are not capable of swift actions, and too slow to retrace our steps. It is inorganic state of society and divided political schools of thought that is responsible for it. But do keep me in touch with things. Your letters are very informing and most useful to me.

With best wishes from us all.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah.

West Heath House,
West Heath Road,
Hampstead, N. W. 3.
27th April, '33

Dear Matin,

I am in receipt of yours and I am sorry to hear that my

reply to the Muslim League was disappointing. But you see how indefinite things were. I was asked to come to India but to do what? There is nothing concrete. Besides there is not much to be done there. The differences and divisions are much deeper and getting worse. The public opinion such as there is in India is at sixes and sevens. Things cannot be put right now for a considerable time. England is going ahead and forging a Constitution for India, taking advantage of the situation. There will not be any substantial change in the White Paper. The only thing that remains now is to take away the finance by means of a kind of Reserve Bank and Railways by establishing a Statutory Railway Board. After that the legislature having its wings clipped would be put in a cage. This is the picture I see, but it does not seem to dawn on our leaders. Well! They say every country gets the Government it deserves, so we are no exception.

With kind regards from us all.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1931

44. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th, 27th December, 1931, at Delhi, on the statement of the Prime Minister at the Round Table Conference.

That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League having carefully considered the statement of the Prime Minister made at the Indian Round Table Conference on the first of December, 1931.

(a) Places on record its profound disappointment at the failure of the British Government to make a definite announcement that the future constitution of India shall embody such safeguards for Muslim interests as are considered necessary and adequate by the Muslim community itself.

(b) Places on record its regret at the provisional decision of the British Government to defer the introduction of full autonomy in provinces till the framing of the All-India Constitution and urges upon the Government the necessity of immediately placing the provinces in a fully autonomous and responsible position,

(c) Places on record its disappointment at the failure of the British Government to make a definite announcement that Sindh shall be constituted into a separate province and demands that an unconditional announcement shall be made forthwith, and

(d) Reiterates its considered opinion that no constitution shall be acceptable to the Muslims unless it secures, and guarantees to them :—

(i) Freedom of profession, practice and propagation of religion, education, language, articles of food and social usages, etc.,

(ii) Representation to the extent of one-third in each chamber of the Federal legislature,

(iii) Representation in the legislature of the Provinces where the Muslims are in a minority in accordance with the proportion of representation at present enjoyed by them in such provinces,

(iv) Representation in the legislature of the Punjab and Bengal in accordance with their proportion in the population of those provinces,

(v) Fair and adequate share in public services and grants-in-aid.

1931

45 Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th and 27th December, 1931, at Delhi, expressing concern at the condition of Muslims of Kashmir.

That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League while expressing its deepest sympathy with the position of the Muslims in Kashmir and putting on record its sense of satisfaction at the practical proofs given by the Muslims of India of their common brotherhood with the suffering of Muslims of Kashmir earnestly hopes that the gallant struggle which is been carried on inside and outside Kashmir shall speedily result in humanity and citizenship for which such enormous sacrifices have been made.

1932

46. On 25th July, 1932, Allama Iqbal issued a press statement on the rumoured rift in the All-India Muslim League.

There is no real split as far as the present Muslim attitude towards the announcement of the communal decision is concerned. The leaders of the new party were in Lahore a few days ago and had long talks with me about the past work of the Conference and future possibilities. They finally agreed to my view that since the British Government had undertaken to decide the communal problem—practically at the request of the Indian communities—we must wait till that decision and hold the postponed meeting of the Executive Board of the Conference at a suitable place shortly after its announcement.

I am glad that the good sense of our community has saved us from mutual dissension on this issue. I am sure that on account of the experience acquired by it during the last ten years, the community as a whole fully understands the many sides of the present political problem in the country; and I have every hope that its strong commonsense will not fail it when it is again called upon to appraise the value of political alternative which the future may disclose.

1932

47. Text of the Communal Award given by Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in place of the Minorities' Pact arrived at between the minority communities at the time of the Third Round Table Conference.

(1) In the statement made by the Prime Minister on December last, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference, which was immediately afterwards endorsed by both Houses of Parliament, it made plain that, **if the communities in India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on communal questions which** the Conference had failed to solve, His Majesty's Government were determined that India's constitutional advance should not on that account be frustrated, and they would remove this obstacle by devising and applying themselves to a provisional scheme.

(2) On March 19 last, His Majesty's Government, having been informed that the continued failure of the communities to reach an agreement was blocking the progress of plans for the framing of the new constitution, stated that they were engaged upon a careful re-examination of the difficult and controversial questions which arise. They are now satisfied that, without the decision of at least some aspects of the problems connected with the position of the minorities under the new constitution no further progress can be made with the framing of the constitution.

Scope of the Scheme

(3) His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that they will include provisions to give effect to the scheme set out below in the proposals relating to the Indian constitution to be laid in due course before Parliament. **The scope of this scheme is purposely confined to the arrangements to be made for the representation of British Indian communities in Provincial Legislatures, consideration of representation in the Legislature at the Centre being deferred for the reason given in paragraph 20 below.** The decision to limit the scope of the scheme does not imply a failure to realise that the framing of the constitution will necessitate the decision of a number of other problems of great importance to minorities, but has been taken in the hope that, once a pronouncement has been made upon the basic question of the method and proportions of re-

presentation, the communities themselves may find it possible to arrive at a 'modus vivendi' on the other communal problems which have not as yet received the examination they required.

(4) His Majesty's Government wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no parties to any negotiations which may be initiated with a view to the revision of their decision, and will not be prepared to give consideration to any representation aimed at securing a modification of it, which is not supported by all parties affected. But they are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement, should such happily be forthcoming. If, therefore, before the new Government of India Act is passed into law, they are satisfied that the communities who are concerned are mutually agreed upon a practicable alternative scheme, either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's Provinces, or in respect of the whole of British India, they will be prepared to recommend to Parliament that the alternative should be substituted for the provisions now outlined.

(5) Seats in the Legislative Councils in Governors' Provinces or in the Lower House, if there is an Upper Chamber, will be allocated as shown in para 24 below.

Separate Electorates

(6) Election to the seats allotted to Muslim, European and Sikh constituencies will be voters voting in separate communal electorates, covering between them the whole area of the Provinces (apart from any portions which may, in special cases, be excluded from the electoral area as "backward").

Provision will be made in the constitution itself to empower revision of this electoral arrangement and other similar arrangements mentioned below after ten years with the assent to the communities affected, for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised.

(7) All qualified electors, who are not voters either in a Muslim, Sikh, Indian Christian (see para 10), Anglo-Indian

(see para 11) or European constituency will be entitled to vote in a general constituency.

(8) Seven seats will be reserved for Mahrattas in certain selected plural member general constituencies in Bombay.

Depressed Classes

(9) Members of the "Depressed Classes" qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that, for a considerable period, these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in a legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in para. 24 below. These seats will be filled by elections from special constituencies in which only members of the "Depressed Classes" electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the "Depressed Classes" are most numerous, and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the province.

In Bengal, it seems possible that, in some general constituencies the majority of voters will belong to the Depressed Classes. Accordingly, pending further investigation, no number has been fixed for members to be returned from special Depressed Classes constituencies in that Province. It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than ten seats in the Bengal Legislature.

The precise definition in each Province of those who (if electorally qualified) will be entitled to vote in special Depressed Class constituencies has been finally determined. It would be based as a rule on the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee's Report. Modification may, however, be found necessary in some Provinces in Northern India where the application necessary of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable in some respects to the special conditions of the Province.

His Majesty's Government do not consider that these special Depressed Classes constituencies will be required for more than a limited time. They intended that the constitution shall provide that they shall come to an end after twenty years, if they have not previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral revision referred to in para. 6.

Indian Christians

(10) Election to the seats allotted to Indian Christians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It seems almost certain that the formation of Indian Christian constituencies covering the whole area of a province will be impracticable and that, accordingly, special Indian Christian constituencies will have to be formed only in one or two selected areas in a Province. Indian Christian voters in these areas will not vote in a general constituency. Indian Christian voters outside these areas will vote in a general constituency. Special arrangements may be needed in Bihar and Orissa, where a considerable proportion of the Indian Christian community belongs to aboriginal tribes.

Anglo-Indians

(11) Election to seats allotted to Anglo-Indians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It is at present intended, subject to investigation of any practical difficulties that may arise, that Anglo-Indian constituencies shall cover the whole area of each Province, postal ballot being employed; but no final decision has yet been reached.

(12) The method of filling seats assigned for representatives from backward areas is still under investigation, and the number of seats so assigned should be regarded as provisional pending final decision as to the constitutional arrangements to be made in relation to such areas.

Women

(13) His Majesty's Government attach great importance to securing that the new legislatures should contain at least a

small number of women members. They feel that at the outset, this object could not be achieved without creating a certain number of seats specially allotted to women. They also feel it is essential that women members should not be drawn disproportionately from one community. They have been unable to find any system which would avoid this risk, and would be consistent with the rest of the scheme for representation which they have found it necessary to adopt, except that of limiting the electorate for each special women's seat to voters from one community, subject to the exception explained in para. 24 below. Special women's seats have accordingly been specifically divided, as explained in para. 24 below, between the various communities. The precise electoral machinery to be employed in these special constituencies is still under consideration.

Special Interest

(14) Seats allotted to "Labour" will be filled from non-communal constituencies. Electoral arrangements have still to be determined, but it is likely that, in most Provinces Labour constituencies will be partly Trade Union and partly special constituencies, as recommended by the Franchise Committee.

(15) Special seats allotted to Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting will be filled by election through Chambers of Commerce and various Associations. Details of the electoral arrangements for these seats must await further investigation.

(16) Special seats allotted to landowners will be filled by election by special landowners constituencies.

(17) The method to be employed for election to University seats is still under consideration.

(18) His Majesty's Government have found it impossible, in determining these questions of representation in provincial legislatures, to avoid entering into considerable details. There

remains nevertheless the determination of the constituencies. They intend that this task should be undertaken in India as early as possible.

It is possible, in some instances, delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved by a slight variation from the number of seats now given. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to make such slight variation for such purpose, provided they will not materially affect the essential balance between the communities. No such variations will, however, be made in the case of Bengal and the Punjab.

Second Chambers

(19) The question of the composition of Second Chambers in the provinces has so far received comparatively little attention in the constitutional discussions and requires further consideration before a decision is reached which provinces shall have a Second Chamber or a scheme is drawn up for their composition.

His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of the Upper House in a Province should be such as not to disturb, in any essential, the balance between the communities resulting from the composition of the Lower House.

(20) His Majesty's Government do not propose at present to enter into the question of size and composition of the Legislature at the Centre, since this involves, among other questions, that of representation of Indian States, which still needs further discussion. They will, of course, when considering the composition, pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein.

Separation of Sind

(21) His Majesty's Government have already accepted the recommendation that Sind should be constituted a separate Province, if satisfactory means of financing it can be found. As

the financial problems involved still have to be reviewed in connection with other problems of federal finance, His Majesty's Government have thought it preferable to include, at this stage, figures for a legislature for the existing Provinces of Bombay, in addition to the scheme for separate legislatures for the Bombay Presidency proper and Sind.

(22) The figures given for Bihar and Orissa relate to the existing Province. The question of constituting a separate Province of Orissa is still under investigation.

(23) The inclusion, in para. 24 below, of figures relating to the legislature for the Central Provinces including Berar, does not imply that any decision had yet been reached regarding the future constitutional position of Berar.

(24) The following will be the allocation of seats in Provincial Legislatures (Lower House only):

Madras

General seats (including six women)	134
Depressed Classes	18
Representatives from Backward Areas	1
Muslims (including one woman)	29
Indian Christians (including one woman)	9
Anglo-Indians	2
Europeans	3
Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting	6
Landholders	1
University	1
Labour	6
Total	210

Bombay

(Including Sind)

General seats (including five women)	....	97
Depressed Classes	....	10
Backward Areas	....	1
Muslims (including one woman)	....	63
Indian Christians	....	3
Anglo-Indians	....	2
Europeans	....	4
Commerce, etc.	....	8
Landholders	....	1
Labour	....	8
Total		200

Bengal

General seats (including two women)	....	80
Depressed Classes	....	—
Muslims (including two women)	....	119
Indian Christians	....	2
Anglo-Indians (including one woman)	....	4
Europeans	....	11
Commerce, etc.	....	19
Landholders	....	5
University	....	2
Labour	....	8
Total		250

United Provinces

General seats (including four women)	....	132
Depressed Classes	....	12
Muslims (including two women)	....	66
Indian Christians	....	2
Anglo-Indians	....	1
Europeans	....	2
Commerce, etc.	....	3
Landholders	....	6
University	....	1
Labour	....	3
	Total	288

Punjab

General seats (including one woman)	....	43
Sikhs (including one woman)	....	32
Muslims (including two women)	....	66
Indian Christians	....	2
Anglo-Indians	....	1
Europeans	....	1
Commerce, etc.	....	1
Landholders	....	5
University	....	1
Labour	....	3
	Total	175

Bihar and Orissa

General seats (including three women)	....	99
Depressed Classes	....	7
Representatives from Backward Areas	....	8
Muslims (including one woman)	....	42
Indian Christians	....	2
Anglo-Indians	....	1
Europeans	....	2
Landholders	....	5
Commerce, etc.	....	4
University	....	1
Labour	....	4
Total		175

Central Provinces

(Including Berar)

General seats (including 3 women)	....	77
Depressed Classes	....	10
Representatives from Backward Areas	....	1
Muslims	....	14
Anglo-Indians	....	1
Europeans	....	1
Commerce etc.	....	2
Landholders	....	3
University	....	1
Labour	....	2
Total		112

Assam

General seats (including one woman)	....	44
Depresssed Classes	....	4
Representatives from Backward Areas	....	9
Muslims	....	34
Indian Christians	....	1
Europeans	....	1
Commerce, etc.	....	11
Labour	....	4
Total		108

North-West Frontier Province

General seats	....	9
Sikhs	....	3
Muslims	....	32
Landholders	....	2
Total		50

Seats are also allocated for Bombay without Sind and for Sind as follows:

Bombay (without Sind)

General seats (including five women)	....	109
Depressed Classes	....	10
Representatives from Backward Areas	....	1
Muslims (including one woman)	....	30
Indian Christians	....	3
Anglo-Indians	....	2
Europeans	....	3
Commerce, etc.	....	7
Landholders	....	2
Labour	....	7
University	....	1
Total		175

Sind

General seats (including one woman)	....	19
Muslims (including one woman)	....	34
Europeans	....	2
Commerce, etc.	....	2
Landholders	....	2
Labour	....	1
Total		60

Special Constituencies

As regards seats for Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting, it is stated that the composition of bodies through which election of these seats will be conducted, though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian, will not be statutorily fixed. It is accordingly not possible in each province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned.

It is, however expected that, initially, the number will be approximately as follows :-

Madras : 4 Europeans and 2 Indians.

Bombay : (including Sind) : 5 Europeans and 3 Indians.

Bengal : 14 Europeans and 5 Indians.

United Provinces : 2 Europeans and 1 Indian.

Punjab : 1 Indian.

Bihar and Orissa : 2 Europeans and 2 Indians.

Central Provinces (including Berar) : 1 European and 1 Indian.

Assam : 8 Europeans and 3 Indians.

Bombay (without Sind) : 4 Europeans and 3 Indians.

Sind : 1 European and 1 Indian.

As regards general seats allocated to Bombay, whether inclusive or exclusive of Sind, it is stated seven of them will be reserved for Mahrattas.

As regards allocation of seats for Depressed Classes in Bengal this number which will not exceed ten, has not yet been fixed. The number of general seats will be thirty, less the number of special Depressed Classes seats.

As regards Landholders' seats in the Punjab, it is stated one of these will be a 'Zamindars' seat. Four landholders seats will be filled from special constituencies with joint electorates. It is probable from distribution of the electorate that the members returned will be one Hindu, one Sikh and two Muslims.

As regards allocation of one woman's seat among general seats in Assam, it is stated this will be filled from a non-communal constituency at Shillong.

Premier's Explanatory Statement

The text of the decision of His Majesty's Government regarding certain communal problems connected with the framing of the new Indian Constitution has now reached India and is being published simultaneously in both the countries.

On its publication, the Prime Minister has issued the following statement:

"Not only as the Prime Minister, but as a friend of India who has for the last two years taken a special interest in the question of minorities, I feel that I ought to add a word or two of explanation to the extremely important decision on communal representation that the Government are announcing today.

We never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India. We made that abundantly clear during both

the sessions of the R.T.C. when we strove hard to get Indians to settle this matter between themselves. We have realised from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticised by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands but we believe that in the end consideration of Indian needs will prevail and all communities will see that their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Settlement Subject to Revision by Agreement

Our duty was plain. As the failure of the communities to agree amongst themselves has placed an almost insurmountable obstacle in the way of any constitutional development, it was incumbent upon Government to take action in accordance, therefore, with the pledge that I gave on behalf of the Government at the Round Table Conference in response to repeated appeals from representative Indians and in accordance with the statement to British Parliament and approved by it. Goverment are to-day publishing a scheme of representation in Provincial Assemblies that they intend in due course to lay before Parliament unless in the meanwhile the communities themselves agree upon a better plan.

We should be only too glad if, at any stage before the proposed Bill becomes law, the communities can reach an agreement amongst themselves. But guided by the past experience, Government are convinced that no further negotiations will be of any advantage, and they can be no party to them. They will, however, be ready and willing to substitute, for their scheme any scheme whether in respect of any one or more of Government Provinces or in respect of the whole of British India is generally agreed and accepted by all the parties affected.

The Case for Separate Electorates

In order to appreciate the Government's decision, it is necessary to remember the actual conditions in which it is

being given. For many years past separate electorates, namely the grouping of particular categories of voters in territorial constituencies by themselves has been regarded by minority communities as an essential protection for their rights. In each of the recent stages of constitution development, separate electorates have consequentially found a place; however much Government may have preferred a uniform system of joint electorates, they found it impossible to abolish the safeguards to which minorities still attach vital importance. It would serve no purpose to examine the causes which in the past have led to this state of affairs. I am rather thinking of the future. I want to see the greater and the smaller communities working together in peace and amity so that there will be no further need for a special form of protection. In the meantime, however, Government have to face facts as they are, and must maintain this exceptional form of representation.

The Position of the Depressed Classes

There are two features of the decision to which I must allude. One has to do with the Depressed Classes and the other with the representation of women. Government would be quite unable to justify a scheme which omitted to provide what is really requisite for either.

Our main object in the case of the Depressed Classes has been while securing to them the spokesmen of their own choice in the legislatures of the province where they are found in large numbers, at the same time to avoid electoral arrangements which would perpetuate their segregation. Consequently, a Gepressed Class voter in general Hindu constituencies and an elected member in such a constituency will be influenced by his responsibility to this section of the electorate, but for the next 20 years there will also be a number of special seats filled from special Depressed Classes electorates in the areas where these voters chiefly prevail. The anomaly of giving to the members of the Depressed Classes two votes is abundantly justified by the urgent need of securing that their claims should be effectively expressed and the prospects of improving their actual condition promoted.

Women's Rights

As regards women voters, it has been widely recognised in recent years that the women's movement in India holds one of the keys of progress. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated and influential citizens. There are undoubtedly serious objections to extending to the representation of women the communal method, but if seats are to be reserved for women as such and woman members are to be fairly distributed among the communities, there is, in the existing circumstances, no alternative.

With this explanation, I commend the scheme to Indian communities as a fair and honest attempt to hold the balance between the conflicting claims in relation to the existing position in India. Let them take it though it may not for the moment satisfy the full claims of any of them as a workable plan for dealing with the question of representation in the next period of India's constitutional development. Let them remember, when examining the scheme, that they themselves failed when pressed again and again to produce to us some plan which would give general satisfaction.

Communal Co-operation and Condition of Progress

In the end, only Indians themselves can settle this question. The most that Government can hope for is that their decision will remove an obstacle from the path of constitutional advance and will thus enable Indians to concentrate their attention upon solving the many issues that still remain to be decided in the field of constitutional advance. Let leaders of all Indian communities show, at this critical moment in India's constitutional development, their appreciation of the fact that communal co-operation is a condition of progress and that it is their special duty to put upon themselves the responsibility of making the new constitution work.

1932

48. Supplementary Communal Award—1932.

"Then there was the question of the representation of communities in the Centre, particularly of the Muslim community. There, I think, I can say, definitely—I think I have said it indirectly very often before—that the Government consider that the Muslim community should have a representation 33-1|3 per cent. in the Federal Centre. As far as Indian India is concerned that must be a matter for arrangement between the communities affected and the princes, but, so far as the British Government has any part in the question we will, at any time, give our good offices to making it as easy as possible for the arrangement between those parties with regard to the future allocation of seats.

The Communal Award of His Majesty's Government did not give any decision regarding the Muslim claim for 33-1|3 per cent. representation in the Central Government. The decision of His Majesty's Government on this claim was announced by the Secretary of State for India on 24th December 1932 in the course of his statement to the Third Round Table Conference.

1932

49. Allama Iqbal's statement on the Communal Award, 24th August, 1932.

The decision of His Majesty's Government has invoked divergent criticism characteristic of this land of minorities. This in itself ought to be instructive to those fact-shy politicians who take an easy view of the complexity of the Indian constitutional problem and think that India possesses, or is capable of possessing, on the whole a single national point of view. And all this unhappy fire-works of phrases comes from people who openly confessed their inability to solve their own problems in requesting a third party to give them a decision which, be it remembered, does not close the door for an agreed settlement.

Amidst this welter of indiscriminate criticism, however, a disinterested student of Indian politics will find great relief in regarding the views of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—the acute politician who combines a clear vision of present actualities with a penetrating glance into the future and shows infinite patience in working out the minute details of a complex situation.

I may also recall the amusing observation made in this connection by a gentleman of Bombay who said that the British Government's decision might as well have been written by myself. I assure him that if I had been called upon to give a decision on the Indian communal problem, I should not have done such glaring injustice to Muslims as the present decision does.

I honestly believe that no community has a more genuine grievance against the decision than Muslims. Indeed I cannot explain to myself how the British conscience has tolerated this injustice.

The outcry that the decision has given a majority representation to Punjab Muslims has absolutely no justification. A Muslim majority, whatever its character, in this province ought not to form a ground of grievance for any community. Besides, in the present case this majority has been made dependent on Muslims winning a number of seats through joint electorates.

The views of the Indian Muslims on the British Government's decision are embodied in the resolution adopted by the Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference at Delhi the other day. I need not repeat them. But it appears from a careful study of the decision that it attempts to vindicate two political principles, i.e., no majority should be reduced to a minority and the interests of the minorities should be protected by giving them suitable weightage. In the application of both these principles it is the Muslims who suffer.

The position of Muslims in Bengal proves the violation of the first principle to the detriment of the Muslims and the figures relating to the weightage given to minorities in various provinces prove that the second principle has been applied more generously to Hindus in the Frontier Province than to Muslims in any other province. In the Punjab the Sikh minority has been given weightage to an extent which reduces the probable Muslim majority to the narrowest possible margin.

The Muslims of Bengal who have been given 48.4 instead of 61 per cent. needed only another 2 per cent to ensure an odd majority for them. But His Majesty's Government have thought fit to observe the terms of the Minorities Pact as far as it related to Europeans and to ignore it as far as it related to Bengal Muslims. Is it because blood is thicker than water or because this injustice to Muslims serves the double object of helping the Europeans and pleasing the Hindus ?

The important question for Muslims, however, is what is to be done? I believe that a perfectly constitutional method is open to Muslims to adopt in this connection. Bengal is one of those provinces which have demanded two Houses of Legislature. The constitution of an Upper House for it is yet to be framed and what the relations between the two Houses will be and whether the Government will be responsible to the Lower House only or to both Houses put together, are questions which are yet to be settled. If representation on a population basis is secured for Muslims in the Upper House and if Government is made responsible to both Houses put together, Muslims may still have a majority in that province. In view of the fact that special interest has received full attention in the Lower House the above method will only do bare justice to Bengal Muslims.

I must add that the mere allotment of seats to various communities is in itself of no great consequence. What is vital is the amount of power which may be transferred to the province of India, if real power comes to the provinces there is no doubt that the minorities of India, Muslims and non-Mus-

lims, will have an opportunity of improving their political position in the country and that in working out the coming constitution, Muslims in their majority provinces will, in view of their past history and traditions, prove themselves free from all pettiness of mind and narrowness of outlook. Their one duty, to my mind, is a war against illiteracy and economic slavery.

1933

50. Text of the pamphlet, "Now or Never," published by Choudhary Rahmat Ali as "Founder of Pakistan National Movement", in which the word "Pakistan" appears to have been used for the first time in a document.

3, Humberstone Road,
Cambridge,
England,
28th January, 1933.

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am enclosing herewith an appeal on behalf of the thirty million Muslims of PAKISTAN, who live in the five Northern Units of India—Punjab, North-West Frontier (Afghan) Province, Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan. It embodies their demand for the recognition of their national status, as distinct from the other inhabitants of India, by the grant to Pakistan of a separate Federal Constitution on religious, social and historical grounds.

I shall be pleased if you will kindly acquaint me with your valuable opinion on the proposed solution of the great Hindu-Muslim problem. I trust that, vitally interested as you are in a just and permanent solution of that complex problem, the objects outlined in the appeal will meet with your fullest approval and active support.

Yours truly,
Rahmat Ali (Choudhary).
(Founder, Pakistan National Movement)
First issued 1933
Reissued 1934

NOW OR NEVER

Are we to live or perish for ever?

At this solemn hour in the history of India, when British and Indian delegates are laying the foundations of a Federal Constitution for that Sub-continent, we address this appeal to you, in the name of our common heritage, and on behalf of our thirty million Muslim brethren who live in PAKISTAN by which we mean the five Northern units of India, viz. Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan. And we ask for your sympathy and support in our grim and fateful struggle against political crucifixion and national annihilation.

Our brave but voiceless nation is being sacrificed on the altar of Hindu Nationalism not only by the non-Muslims, but also, to their lasting shame, by our own so-called leaders with a reckless disregard of our protests and in utter contempt of the warnings of history.

The Muslim delegates at the Round Table Conference have committed an inexcusable blunder and an incredible betrayal. They have agreed, in the name of Hindu Nationalism. to the perpetual subjection of the ill-starred Muslim Millat in India. They have accepted, without any protest or demur and without any reservation or qualification, a constitution based on the principle of an All-India Federation. This acceptance amounts to nothing less than signing the death-warrant of Islam and of Muslims in India.

To justify their action they have taken shelter behind the so-called Mandate from the Millat. But they forgot that suicidal Mandate was framed and formulated by their own hands. It was not the Mandate of the Muslims of India. Nations never gave Mandates to their representatives to barter away their very souls; and men of conscience never accept such self-annihilating Mandates, even if given, much less execute them. At such a time and in a crisis of this magnitude the foremost

duty of saving statesmanship is to give a fair, firm, and fearless lead—a lead which has presistently been denied to our eighty million co-religionists in India by our leaders during the last seventy-five years. In fact, for us, these have been the years of false issues, of lost opportunities, and of utter blindness to the most essential and urgent needs of the Muslim interests. This because the leaders' policy has throughout been defeatist in spirit, nerveless in action, and subservient in attitude. They have all along been paralysed with dishonesty, fear and doubt, and have, time and again, sacrificed their own political principles and our national patrimony for the sake of sheer opportunism and sordid careerism. To do so even at this fateful juncture is a policy of betrayal. It will be fatal for us not to look this tragic truth in the face; for the tighter we shut our eyes, the harder that truth will hit us.

At this critical moment, when this tragedy is being enacted, we earnestly appeal to you for your practical sympathy and active support for the demand of a separate Muslim Federation—a demand which is a matter of life and death for all Muslims of India, and which is outlined and explained below.

India, constituted as it is at the present moment, is not the name of one single country; nor the home of one single nation. It is, in fact, the designation of a State created by the British for the first time in history. It includes peoples who have never previously formed part of the Indian nation at any period of its history, but who have, on the contrary, from the dawn of history till the advent of the British, possessed and retained distinct nationalities of their own.

One of such peoples is our own nation.

In the five Northern Provinces of India, out of a total population of about forty millions, we, the Muslims, constitute about thirty millions. Our religion and culture, our history and tradition, our social code and economic system, our laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of most peoples living in the rest of India.

The ideals which move our people to make the highest sacrifices are essentially different from those which inspire the Hindus to do the same. These differences are not confined to broad, basic principles. Far from it, they extend to the minutest details of our lives. We do not inter-dine; we do not intermarry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different.

It is preposterous to compare, as some superficial observers do, the differences between Muslims and Hindus with those between Catholics and Protestants. While both the Catholics and the Protestants are part and parcel of one religious system Christianity, the Muslims and the Hindus are the followers of two essentially different religious systems. Moreover, religion in the case of Muslims and Hindus is not a matter of private opinion as it may be in the case of Christians; but on the contrary it is a Civic Church, which lays down a most comprehensive code of conduct to be observed by its adherents from birth to death.

If we, the Muslims of Pakistan, with our distinct marks of nationality, are deluded into the proposed Indian Federation by friends or foes, we are reduced to a minority of one in ten. This reduction sounds the death-knell of our nation in Pakistan. To help you to realise the full magnitude of this impending catastrophe, let us remind you that we thirty millions constitute about one-tenth of the whole Muslim world. The total area of our five units, comprising Pakistan, is four times that of Italy, three times that of Germany and twice that of France; and their population seven times that of the Commonwealth of Australia, four times that of the Dominion of Canada, twice that of Spain, and equal to France and Italy considered individually.

These are facts—hard facts and historic realities which we challenge anybody to contradict. It is on the basis of such facts and realities that we assert without fear of contradiction that we, the Muslims of Pakistan, do possess a distinct nationality from that of the Hindus of India, who constitute the

Hindu nation and live—and have every right to live—in most of India; and that we deserve—and demand—the recognition of our national status by the grant to Pakistan of a Federal Constitution, separate from that of the rest of India.

In addressing this appeal to you and all other Muslims of India, we are addressing it also to the two other major parties—British and Hindu—involved in the settlement of India's future. They must understand that, in this settlement, our body and soul are at stake. Our very being and well-being depend upon it. Not only ours, but also those of every other people in India. Therefore, to be acceptable to all, the settlement must be fair to all. They can make it so, if they will.

This is especially true when, to the selfish settlement proposed by them, there is a just and reasonable alternative, which would lay the foundations of a peaceful future for the whole Sub-continent; and which would allow the highest development of all, including each of the two peoples—the Hindu and the Muslim—without either being subject to the other. This alternative is a separate Muslim Federation of at least our five predominantly Muslim units—Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. This Muslim Federation of North-West India would provide the bulwark of a buffer state against invasion of India either of ideas or of arms from any quarter. And the creation of such a Federation would not materially disturb the ratio or the rights of the Muslim and Hindu populations in the rest of India. It is, therefore, clearly in the interest of British and Hindu statesmanship to concede our demand for this Federation, and to have as an ally our free, powerful and contented Muslim nation, possessing a constitution similar to, but separate from, that which is being enacted for India. For, nothing but a separate Federation of our homelands will satisfy our people.

This demand is basically different from the suggestion put forward by Doctor Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his Presidential address to the All-India Muslim League in 1930. While he pro-

posed the amalgamation of four out of the five above-named provinces into a single state forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that all those five Provinces should have a separate Federation of their own outside India. We are convinced there can be no peace and progress in India if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Hindu dominated federation in which we cannot be the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own souls.

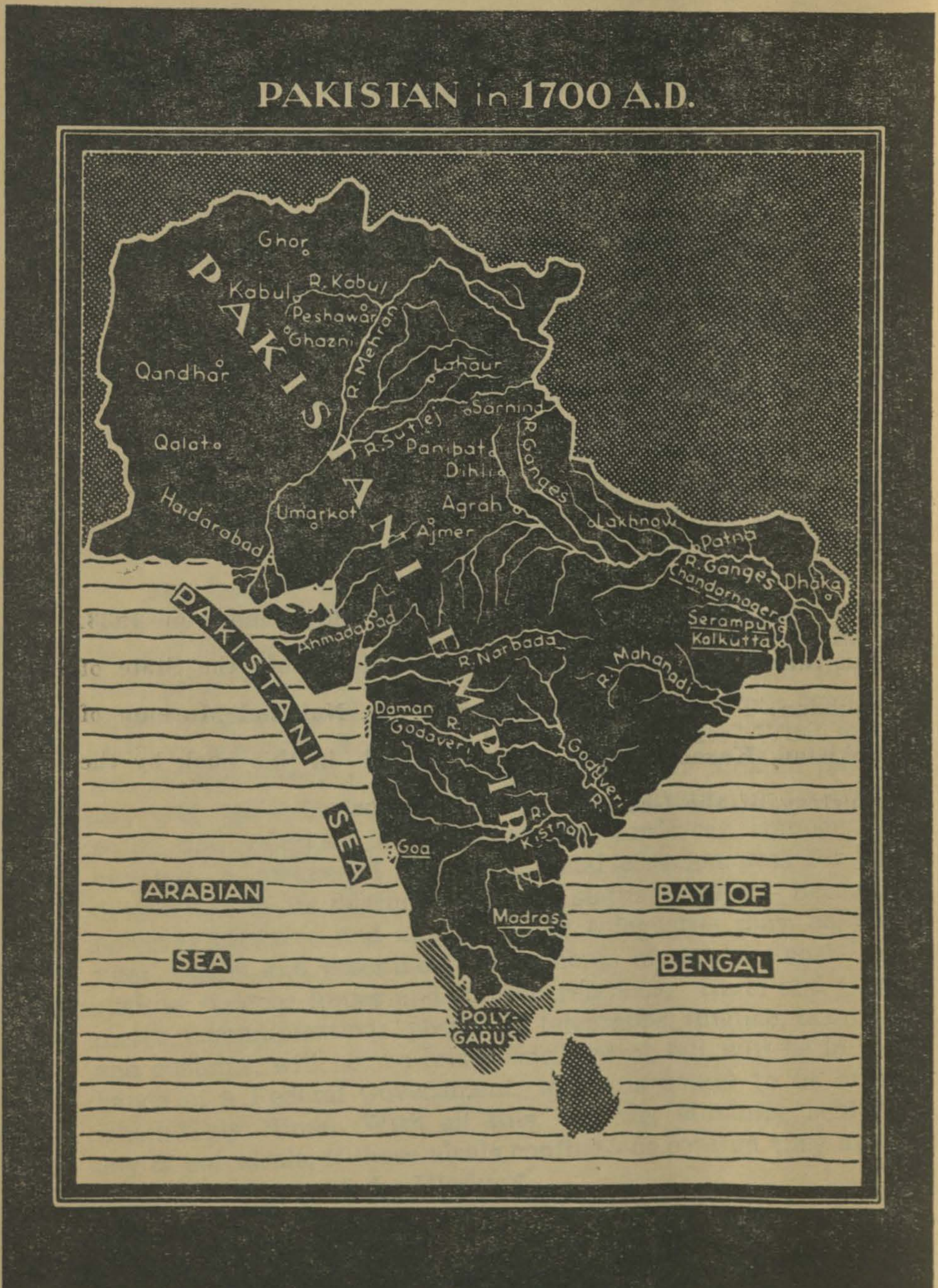
Let us refer here to the safeguards. Do the safeguards proposed at the Conference give us any scope to work out our salvation along our own lines? Not a bit. Safeguard is the magic word which holds our leaders spellbound, and has dulled their consciences. In the ecstasy of their hallucinations they think that the pills of safeguards can cure nation-annihilating earthquakes. The safeguards asked for by them and agreed to by the makers of the Constitution can never be a substitute for the loss of our separate nationality. Indeed, to believe otherwise is suicidal insanity. For, what safeguards can be devised to prevent our minority of one in ten in an All-India Federation from being sacrificed on every vital issue to the aims and interests of the majority race, which differs from us in every essential of individual and corporate life? What safeguards can prevent the catastrophe of our Muslim nation smarting and suffering eternally at the frustration of its every social and religious ideal? What safeguards can compensate our nation awakened to its national consciousness for the destruction of its distinct national status? None. Because, however effective and extensive the safeguards may be, the vital organs and essential departments of our national life, such as defence forces and foreign relations, trade and commerce, communications, posts and telegraphs, finance, taxation and customs, will not be under our control, but will be in the hands of a Federal Government, which is bound to be overwhelmingly Hindu. With all this, can we, Muslims, achieve any of our ideals, if those ideals conflict—as conflict they must—with the ideals of the Hindus?

In this respect, the history of the last century is full of clear warnings for us. Even one who runs may read them. To

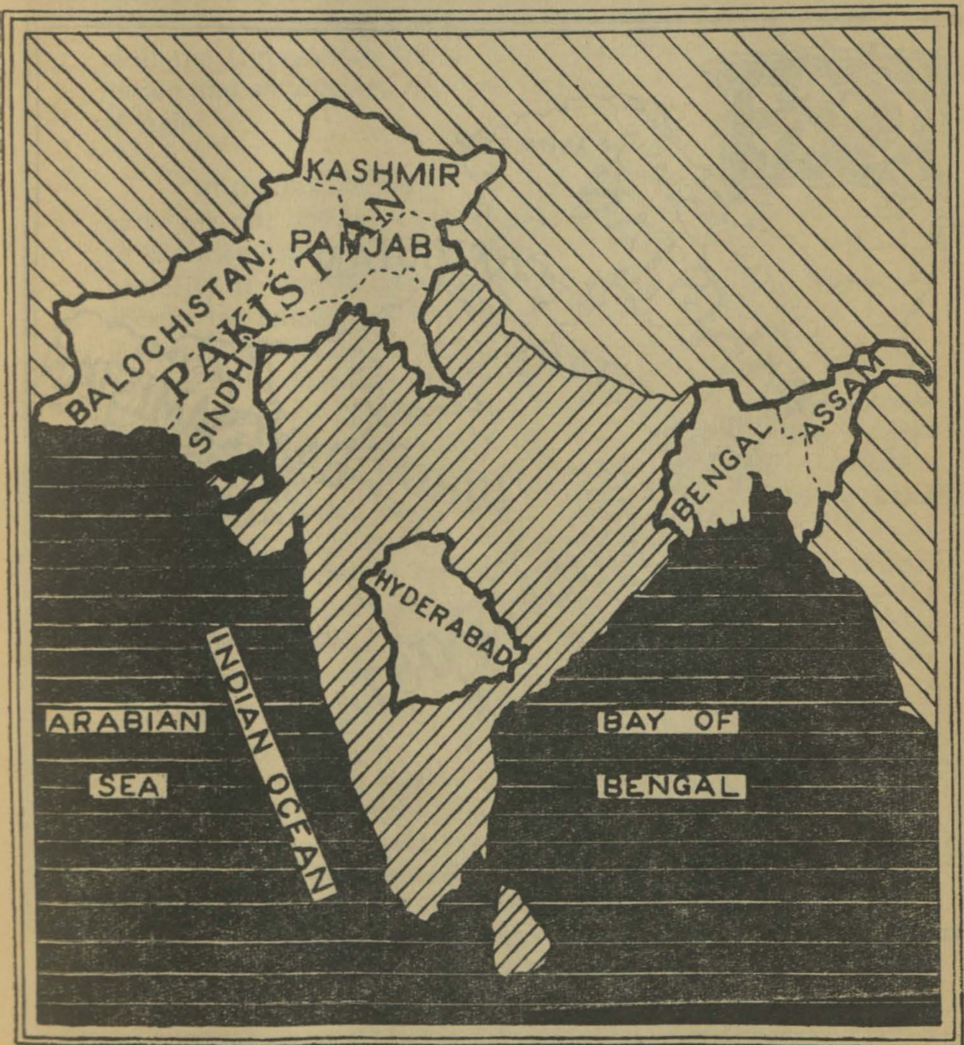
1933

50A.

Choudhary Rahmat Ali drew up three maps in 1933, illustrating his conception of the evolution of the State of Pakistan. These maps are now with the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. They are reproduced in this book by the courtesy of the Government of Pakistan.


PAKISTAN in 1700 A.D.
PAKISTANI EMPIRE
Ghor
Kabul
R. Kabul
Peshawar
Ghazni
Qandhar
R. Mehran
Lahaur
Sarhind
R. Sutlej
Panipat
Dihli
R. Ganges
Qalat
Haidarabad
Umarkot
Agrah
Ajmer
Lakhnow
Patna
R. Ganges
Dhaka
Chandarnagar
Serampur
Kalkutta
PAKISTANI SEA
Ahmadabad
R. Narbada
R. Mahanadi
Daman
R. Godaveri
Godaveri R.
R. Kistna
Goa
Madras
POLY-GARUS
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL

PAKISTAN in 1857




N.W.F.
AFGHANIA
KASHMEER
PAKISTAN
BALOCHISTAN
PANJAB
GURUISTAN
SARHIND
RAJISTAN
SINDH
KACH
SEA OF PAKISTAN
KATHIAWAR
MAHARASHTAR
USMANISTAN
HINDOOSTAN
HINDOO
(INDIA)
ASSAM
BANGSAMISTAN
(BANG-I-ISLAMISTAN)
BENGAL
SEA OF BANGSAMISTAN
ARABIAN SEA
DRAVIDIA
SEA OF USMANISTAN
DRAVIDIAN SEA

mention just one. Despite all the safeguards and guarantees we have had in the past, the very name of our national language—Urdu—even now the lingua franca of the Indian Subcontinent, has been wiped out of the list of Indian languages. We have only to open the latest census report to verify it. This by itself is a tragic fall. But even that is a trifle in comparison with the tremendous issues involving our whole future as a nation and as a power not only in India, but also in the whole of Asia.

In the face of these incontrovertible facts, we are entitled to ask our delegates for what purpose we are being pressed to sacrifice our nationality and to submit ourselves and our posterity to non-Muslim domination. What good is likely to accrue to Islam and Muslims by our going into the Indian Federation ? This is a thing which passes our understanding. Are we to be crucified just to save their faces, or to bolster up the preposterous falsehood that India can be a single nation ? Is it to achieve compromise at all costs, or is it to support the fatal illusion that Hindu nationalism can work in the interests of Muslims as well as Hindus ? The whole business shows a mental muddle of such a nature and on such a scale as has never been known in history. We have suffered in the past without a murmur and faced dangers without demur; but the one thing we would never suffer is our self-strangulation. We would never crucify ourselves upon the cross of Hindu nationalism in order to make a Hindu holiday.

May we ask also all those people—Muslim, British, and Hindu—who are supporting the Federal Constitution, if it is really desirabe to make us sacrifice our nationhood in order to make India one nation ? Does humanity really stand to gain by this stupendous sacrifice ? We dare to say that in our nation the ancient fire of Islam still glows and promises much for the future of mankind, if only they would let it live. Can they not realize that, while in Europe, excluding Russia, in about the same area as that of India and with about the same population, there live and prosper no fewer than twenty-six nations, with one and the same religion, civilisation and economic sys-

tem, surely it is not only possible but highly desirable for two fundamentally different and distinct nations, i.e., Muslim and Hindu, to live as friendly neighbours in the Indian Sub-continent. It is a pity that even our leaders have not the courage to take their stand upon that truth and to insist upon its application to India and thereby secure the minimum for our national salvation.

In any case, we are now face to face with a first-rate crisis, the like of which has not been seen even in the long and eventful history of Islam. It is not the question of a sect or of a community going down; it is the crisis of the whole future of our eighty million Muslims, who, till only yesterday, were the custodians of the glory of Islam in India and the defenders of the frontiers of India.

Such is the nature of this crisis. Dangerous as it is, there is no need to despair. We can survive it, and have a still greater future, if only we all answer this appeal like Muslims, oppose the Indian Federation, and support the Pakistan Federation and do that at once.

Let us make no mistake about it. The issue is now or never. Either we live or perish for ever. The future is ours, if we live up to our faith. It does not lie in the lap of the gods: it rests in our own hands. We alone can make or mar it. The history of the last century is full of open warnings to us, and they are as plain as were ever given to any nation. Shall it be said of us that we ignored all those warnings, betrayed our ancient nationhood into the Indian Federation, and let our Islamic heritage perish throughout the Sub-continent of India ?

Rahmat Ali (Choudhary)
Mohd. Aslam Khan (Khattak)
Sheikh Mohd. Sadiq (Sahibzada)
Inayat Ullah Khan (of Charsaddah)

1933

51. Allama Iqbal's press statement on the Constitution that emerged as a result of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, 26th February, 1933.

As far as the Indian Muslims are concerned, it is their duty to organise themselves for the coming elections and scrupulously avoid all causes of action which may lead to sectional differences among themselves. The proposed constitution clearly recognises the principle of protection of minorities. This is the only way of giving the minorities a national outlook. It is now for the minorities themselves, who were parties to the Minorities' Pact made in London, to take full advantage of the opportunities given to them.

Whatever else one may say about the results of the Round Table Conferences, nobody can deny that they have given birth to a people who are at once new and ancient. I believe it to be one of the most remarkable facts of modern history. Not even a farsighted historian can realize the full consequences of the birth of this 'new—ancient' people. I only hope that their leaders will remain alert and not allow the growth of self-consciousness among their people to be arrested by external forces, social or political.

1933

52. Allama Iqbal issued a statement on 19th September, 1933, on Pan-Islamism, as propounded by Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

Sir Fazl-i-Husain is perfectly correct when he says that political Pan-Islamism never existed. It has existed, if at all, only in the imagination of those who invented the phrase or possibly as a diplomatic weapon in the hands of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan of Turkey. Even Jamalud-Din Afghani, whose name is closely associated with what is called Pan-Islamic movement, never dreamed of a unification of Muslims into a political State.

It is significant that in no Islamic language—Arabic, Persian or Turkish—does there exist a phrase corresponding to Pan-Islamism.

It is, however, true that Islam as a society or as a practical scheme for the combination not only of races and nations

but also of all religions does not recognise the barriers of race and nationality or geographical frontiers. In the sense of this humanitarian ideal Pan-Islamism—if one prefers to use this unnecessarily long phrase to the simple expression "Islam" —does and will always exist.

Sir Fazl-i-Husain's advice to Indian Muslims to stand on their own legs as an Indian nation is perfectly sound and I have no doubt that Muslims fully understand and appreciate it. Indian Muslims, who happen to be a more numerous people than the Muslims of all other Asiatic countries put together, ought to consider themselves the greatest asset of Islam and should sink in their own deeper self like other Muslim nations of Asia in order to gather their scattered sources of life and according to Sir Fazli's advice "stand on their own legs."

1933

53. Resolution passed at the annual session of the League on 26th November at Delhi requesting Quaid-e-Azam and the Aga Khan, who were coming to India from England to bring about unity among Muslim ranks. At this time, the Quaid-e-Azam had settled down in England to practise before the Privy Council.

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League, having taken into consideration the letter addressed to its President by certain Muslim leaders of the Punjab suggesting that advantage should be taken of the expected presence in this country of H. H. the Agha Khan and Mr. M. A. Jinnah to hold a convention at some suitable place for the purpose of bringing. about unity to accept at all times and under all circumstances the guidance and advice of such revered and trusted leaders of the community as the two abovenamed gentlemen, and authorises the Council to take such steps in this direction as may be possible and desirable in consultation with H. H. the Agha Khan and Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Proposed by—Prof. Mirza Mohammad Said Saheb
Seconded by—K. B. Syed Bahauddin Saheb.

54. Resolution of All-India Muslim League, adopted on 25th and 26th November, 1933, at Delhi, on the future status of Palestine.

This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its emphatic protest against the policy of the British Government in trying to make Palestine the National Home of the Jews and requests H. E. the Viceroy to represent to His Majesty's Government the feelings of the Muslims of India that the Balfour Declaration be immediately withdrawn as it is opposed to the fundamental rights of the people entrusted to their control.

Proposed by—Moulvi Karam Ali Saheb (Lucknow)
Seconded by—Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb.

1933

55. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 25th and 26th November, 1933, at Delhi, demanding adequate representation to Muslims in Imperial and Provincial Services.

That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League lays special emphasis on the employment of Muslims in all branches of Imperial and Provincial services and all services under bodies to whom any sort of grant is given by the Government and urges the Government to fix a minimum of employment for the Muslims at one-third in departments and services under the Central Government, and in the Provinces, at the ratio corresponding with the proportion of the Muslim seats in relevant legislatures.

Proposed by—Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, C.I.E., M.L.A.
Seconded by—Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadiq, (Qadian)

1933

56. The role of Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference as explained by Allama Iqbal's press statement issued on 6th December, 1933.

I have never had the pleasure of meeting Pandit Jawahar Lal, though I have always admired his sincerity and outspokenness. His latest statement in reply to his Mahasabhite critics has a ring of sincerity which is rare in the pronouncements of present-day politicians in India. It seems, however, that he is not in full possession of the facts regarding the behaviour of Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conferences held in London during the past three years.

He has been led to believe that Mr. Gandhi offered personally to accept all of the Muslim demands on condition that Muslims assured him of their full support in the political struggle for freedom and that reactionaryism rather than communalism prevented Muslims from accepting this condition. This is a perfectly wrong statement of what happened in London.

Pandit Jawahar Lal has described His Highness the Agha Khan as the greatest inspirer of political reactionaryism among Muslims. The truth, however, is that it was the Agha Khan himself who assured Mr. Gandhi in the presence of several Indian delegates, including myself, that if the Hindus or the Congress agreed to Muslim demands, the entire Muslim community would be ready to serve as his (Mr. Gandhi's) camp-followers in the political struggle.

Mr. Gandhi weighed the Agha Khan's words and his offer to accept Muslim demands came later and was hedged round with conditions. The first condition was that Mr. Gandhi would accept the Muslim demands in his personal capacity and would try to secure, but not guarantee, the acceptance of his position by this Congress. I asked him to wire to the Congress Executive and secure its consent to his offer. He said he knew that the Congress would not make him their plenipotentiary on the question.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru can easily refer to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who sat near me at the time, as to her observations which she shared with me on Mr. Gandhi's attitude.

Mr. Gandhi was then asked to secure at least the Hindu and Sikh delegates' consent to his offer. He did make something like an attempt to do so but failed and privately expressed his disappointment with their attitude.

Mr. Gandhi's second and most unrighteous condition was that Muslims should not support the special claim of Untouchables, particularly their claim to special representation. It was pointed out to him that it did not lie in the mouth of Muslims to oppose those very claims on the part of the Untouchables which they were advancing for themselves and that if Mr. Gandhi could arrive at a mutual understanding with the Untouchables the Muslims would certainly not stand in their way. Mr. Gandhi, however, insisted on this condition. I should like to know how far Pandit Jawahar Lal with his well known socialist views would sympathise with such as inhuman condition.

This is the inner history of the negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and Muslim delegates. I would leave it to Pandit Jawahar Lal to judge whether the alleged political reactionaryism among Muslim delegates or the narrow political outlook of others was responsible for the result of negotiations.

The other which His Highness the Agha Khan made to Mr| Gandhi two years ago still holds good. If under Pandit Nehru's leadership the Hindus or the Congress agree to the safeguards which Muslims believe to be necessary for their protection as an all-India minority, the Muslims are still ready to serve, in the Agha Khan's words, as camp-followers of the majority community in the country's political struggle. If, however, he is unable to accept this offer let him at least not accuse Muslims of political reactionaryism but leave those who understand the motive and purposes of Hindu communalism to draw the conclusion that he is in essential agreement with the Mahasabha in the latter's campaign against the Communal Award.

Another accusation which Pandit Jawahar Lal brings against Muslims is that some of them are definitely 'anti-

national'. If by 'nationalism' he means a fusion of the communities in a biological sense, I should personally plead guilty to the charge of anti-nationalism. The building up of a nation in this sense is in my opinion neither possible nor perhaps desirable in the peculiar circumstance of India. In this sense perhaps the greatest anti-national leader in India of today is Mr. Gandhi who has made it a life-mission to prevent the fusion of Untouchables with other communities and to retain them in the fold of Hinduism without any real fusion even between them and the caste Hindus. As far as I judge it, his message to the Untouchables amounts to this: 'Do not leave Hinduism. Remain in it without being of it'.

A man who opposes nationalism in the sense of a fusion of the communities is, however, not necessarily anti-national. It is obvious that there are interests common to the various communities of India. In so far as these interests are concerned an understanding among the communities is possible: according to my belief, it is bound to come. The present situation is only a necessary stage in the country's political evolution. A united India will have to be built on the foundation of concrete facts, i.e., the distinct existence of more than one people in the country. The sooner Indian leaders of political thought get rid of the idea of a unitary Indian nation based on something like a biological fusion of the communities, the better for all concerned.

Pandit Jawahar Lal further seems to think that Muslims, while believing in democracy as a religious institution, are afraid of democracy in practice. He overlooks the fact that the communal electorates and other safeguards on which Muslims insist are only intended to prevent 80 million members of a comparatively poor and backward community from being ousted from all real advantages of democracy. The Muslim wants safeguards not because he is afraid of democracy but because he has reason to be afraid of communal oligarchy in the garb of democracy in India. He wants to ensure the substance of democracy even at the expense of its conventional form.

As for his reference to the speeches made by His Highness the Aga Khan, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed and myself before a gathering of members of the House of Commons, I have only to say that the kind of statements attributed to us were never made. It is unfair to cite the impressions of a Press correspondent instead of an authorised text of our speeches in such an argument. No Indian can believe for a moment that it is impossible to govern India except through a British agency.

In conclusion I must put a straight question to Pandit Jawahar Lal. How is India's problem to be solved if the majority community will neither concede the minimum safeguards necessary for the protection of a minority of 80 million people nor accept the award of a third party; but continue to talk of a kind of nationalism which works out only to its own benefit? This position can admit of only two alternatives. Either the Indian majority community will have to accept for itself the permanent position of an agent of British imperialism in the East or the country will have to be redistributed on a basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities so as to do away with the question of electorates and the communal problem in its present form.

1934

57. Communal Representation in Services, Government of India Resolution, Establishments, the 4th of July, 1934.

Section I—General

No. F. 14|17-B.|33.—In accordance with undertakings given in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India have carefully reviewed the results of the policy followed since 1925 of reserving a certain percentage of direct appointments to Government service for the redress of comunal inequalities. It has been represented that though this policy was adopted mainly with the object of securing increased representation for Muslims in the public services, it has failed to secure for them their due share of appointments and it has been

contended that this position cannot be remedied unless a fixed percentage of vacancies is reserved for Muslims. In particular, attention has been drawn to the small number of Muslims in the Railway services, even on those railways which run through areas in which Muslims form a high percentage of the total population.

The review of the position has shown that these complaints are justified, and the Government of India are satisfied by the enquiries they have made that the instructions regarding recruitment must be revised with a view to improving the position of Muslims in the services.

2. In considering this general question the Government of India have also to take into account the claims of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans and of the depressed classes. Anglo-Indians have always held a large percentage of appointments in certain branches of the public service and it has been recognised that in view of the degree to which the community has been dependent on this employment steps must be taken to prevent in the new conditions anything in the nature of a rapid displacement of Anglo-Indians from their existing positions, which might occasion a violent dislocation of the economic structure of the community. The instructions which follow in regard to the employment of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans in certain departments are designed to give effect to this policy.

3. In regard to the depressed classes it is common ground that all reasonable steps should be taken to secure for them a fair degree of representation in the public services. The intention of caste Hindus in this respect was formally stated in the Poona Agreement of 1932 and His Majesty's Government in accepting that agreement took due note of this point. In the present state of general education in these classes the Government of India consider that no useful purpose will be served by reserving for them a definite percentage of vacancies out of the number available for Hindus as a whole, but they hope to ensure that duly qualified candidates from the

depressed classes are not deprived of fair opportunities of appointment merely because they cannot succeed in open competition.

4. The Government of India have also considered carefully the position of minority communities other than those mentioned above and are satisfied that the new rules will continue to provide for them, as at present, a reasonable degree of representation in the services.

Section II—Scope of Rules

5. The Government of India propose to prescribe annual returns in order to enable them to watch the observance of the rules laid down below.

6. The general rules which the Government of India have with the approval of the Secretary of State adopted with the purpose of securing these objects are explained below. They relate only to direct recruitment and not to recruitment by promotion which will continue to be made as at present solely on merit. They apply to the Indian Civil Service, Central Services, Class I and Class II, and the Subordinate services under the administrative control of the Government of India with the exception of a few services and posts for which high technical or special qualifications are required, but do not apply to recruitment for these Services in the province of Burma. In regard to the Railways, they apply to all posts other than those of inferior servants or labourers on the four State-managed Railways, and the administrations of the Company managed railways will be asked to adopt similar rules for the services on these railways.

Section III—Rules for Services recruited on an All-India basis

7. (1) For the Indian Civil Service and the Central and Subordinate services to which recruitment is made on an All-India basis, the following rules will be observed :

(i) 25 per cent. of all vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment of Indians, will be reserved for Muslims and 8-1|3 per cent. for other minority communities.

(ii) When recruitment is made by open competition, if Muslims or the other minority communities obtain less than these percentages, these percentages will be secured to them by means of nomination; if, however, Muslims obtain more than their reserved percentage in open competition, no reduction will be made in the percentage reserved for other minorities, while if the other minorities obtain more than their reserved percentage in open competition, no reduction will be made in the percentage reserved for Muslims.

(iii) If members of the other minority communities obtain less than their reserved percentage in open competition and if duly qualified candidates are not available for nomination, the residue of the 8-1|3 per cent will be available for Muslims.

(iv) The percentage of 8-1|3 reserved for the other minorities will not be distributed among them in any fixed proportion.

(v) In all cases a minimum standard of qualification will be imposed and the reservations are subject to this condition.

(vi) In order to secure fair representation for the Depressed Classes duly qualified members of these classes may be nominated to a public service, even though recruitment to that service is being made by competition. Members of these classes, if appointed by nomination, will not count against the percentages reserved in accordance with clause (i) above.

(2) For the reason given in paragraph 2 of this Resolution, the Government of India have paid special attention to the question of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans in the gazetted posts on the Railways for which recruitment is made on an All-India basis. In order to maintain approximately their present representation in these posts the Anglo-

Indian and Domiciled community will require to obtain about 9 per cent of the total vacancies available to members of Indian communities. The Government of India have satisfied themselves that at present the community is obtaining by promotions to these gazetted posts and by direct recruitment to them more than 9 per cent of these vacancies. In these circumstances, it has been decided that no special reservation is at present required. If and when the community is shown to be receiving less than 9 per cent of the vacancies, it will be considered what adjustments in regard to direct recruitment may be required to safeguard their legitimate interests.

Section IV—Rules for Services Recruited Locally

(3) In the case of all services to which recruitment is made by local areas and not on an All-India basis, e.g., subordinate posts in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs Department, Customs Service, Income-tax Department, etc., the general rules prescribed above will apply subject to the following modifications :

(1) The total reservation for India as a whole of 25 per cent for Muslims and of 8-1|3 per cent for other minorities will be obtained by fixing a percentage for each Railway or local area or circle having regard to the population ratio of Muslims and other minority communities in the area and the rules for recruitment adopted by the local Government of the area concerned :

(2) In the case of the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs Department and Customs Service in which the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community is at present principally employed special provisions described in the next paragraph are required in order to give effect to the policy stated in paragraph 2 above.

9. (1) (a) The Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community at present holds 8.8 per cent of the subordinate posts on the railways. To safeguard their position 8 per cent

of all vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment will be reserved for members of this community. This total percentage will be obtained by fixing a separate percentage (i) for each railway having regard to the number of members of this community at present employed, (ii) for each branch or department of the Railway service, so as to ensure that Anglo-Indians continue to be employed in those branches in which they are at present principally employed, e.g., the Mechanical Engneering, Civil Engineering and Traffic Departments. No posts in the higher grades of the subordinate posts will be reserved, and promotion to these grades will be made, as at present, solely on merit.

(b) The reservation of 25 per cent for Muslims and 8 per cent for Anglo-Indians makes it necessary to increase the reservation of 33-1|3 per cent hitherto adopted for all minority communities, in order to safeguard the interests of minorities other than Muslims and Anglo-Indians. It has been decided, therefore, to reserve for them 6 per cent of vacancies filled by direct recruitment, which is approximately the percentage of posts held by members of these communities at present. This total reservation will be obtained in the manner prescribed in paragraph 8 (1) of this Resolution and will not be further sub-divided among the minority communities.

(2) In the Posts and Telegraphs Department the same principles will be followed as in the case of the Railways for safeguarding the interests of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community which at present holds about 2.2 per cent of all subordinate posts. It has been ascertained that if a reservation is made for this community of 5 per cent of the vacancies in the branches, departments or categories which members of this community may reasonably be expected to enter, it will result in securing for them a percentage equal to slightly less than the percentage of subordinate posts which they at present hold. In the departments or branches in which a special reservation is made for Anglo-Indians the reservation of vacancies for other minorities will be fixed so as to be equal approximately to the percentage of subordinate posts at pre-

sent held by them. The total reservation for Anglo-Indians and other minority communities, other than Muslims, will in any case be not less than 8-1|3 per cent.

(3) Anglo-Indians are at present largely employed in subordinate posts in the Appraising Department and in the Superior Preventive Service at the major ports. For the former department special technical qualifications are required, and in accordance with the general principles indicated in paragraph 6 of this Resolution it will be excluded from the operation of these rules. In the Preventive Service special qualifications are required, and the present system of recruitment whereby posts are reserved for Anglo-Indians will be maintained.

ORDER——Ordered that this Resolution be communicated to all local Governments and Administrations and the several Departments of the Government of India, for information (and guidance) and that it be also published in the Gazette of India.

M. G. Hallet,
Secretary to the Government of India.

1936

58. Resolution of the annual session of the Muslim League passed on 12th April, 1936, Bombay, electing Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as Honorary Secretary of the League.

Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Deputy President, U.P. Legislative Council, be elected Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for the next term of three years.

Proposed by—Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
Seconded by—Maulvi Sir Mohammad Yakub, Kt.

1 9 3 6

59. Resolution passed on 12th April, 1936, by the annual session of the League at Bombay on the Government of India Act, 1935.

Resolved that the All-India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against forcing the Constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, upon the people of India, against their will and in spite of their repeated disapproval and dissent, expressed by various parties and bodies.

The League considers that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the Provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for what it is worth in spite of the most objectionable features contained therein, which render the real control and responsibility of the Military and the Legislature over the entire field of the Government and the administration nugatory.

The League is clearly of the opinion that the All-India Federal Scheme of the Central Government embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, is fundamentally bad. It is most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India vis-a-vis the Indian States, and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realization of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government and is totally unacceptable.

The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the Central Scheme before it is inaugurated; or else the League feels convinced that it would not bring peace and contentment to the people, but on the contrary it will lead to disaster if forced upon the people and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interest of India and her people.

Proposed by—Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
Seconded by—Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart. Bombay.
Supported by—The Hon'ble Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. Punjab.
" The Hon'ble Hosain Imam, Patna.
" Atia Begum Saheba, Bombay.
" Mulla Noorbhai Dadanwalla, Bombay,
" Mr. Ismail Chundrigar, Ahmadabad.
" Mr. Akhtar Hasan, C.P.

1 9 3 6

60. Resolution of the annual session of the League at Bombay passed on 12th April, 1936, appreciating the services of the Quaid in connection with the Shahidganj Mosque.

Resolved that this important meeting of the All-India Muslim League offers its gratitude to Mr. M. A. Jinnah for his valuable services rendered in connection with the Shahidganj Mosque question, at a time when no other leader could venture to undertake the responsibility. Mr. Jinnah, having realised the depth of the real feelings of the youths of the Punjab, went to Lahore and made the Government of the Punjab to accept the demands of the Mussalmans and thus gave a great impetus to the Mussalmans of the Punjab in general and the youths of the province in particular.

Proposed by—Haji Mohammad Aminuddin Saheb Sahrai, Lahore.

Seconded by—K. B. Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Saheb, Doltana.

1936 | 37

61. Some letters of Allama Iqbal to the Quaid-e-Azam between June 1936 to November 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you my draft. Also a cutting from the Eastern Times of yesterday. This is a letter from an intelligent pleader of Gurdaspur.

I hope the statement issued by the Board will fully argue the whole scheme and will meet all the objections so far advanced against it. It must frankly state the present position of the Indian Muslims as regards both the Government and the Hindus. It must warn the Muslims of India that unless that present scheme is adopted the Muslims will lose all that they have gained during the last 15 years and will seriously harm, and in fact shatter, their own solidarity with their own hands.

Yours etc.,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal

P.S. Will feel obliged if you send the statement to me before it is sent to the press.

Another point which should be brought out in the statement is as follows :

1. Indirect election to the Central Assembly has made it absolutely essential that Muslim representatives returned to the Provincial Assemblies should be bound by an All-India Muslim policy and programme so that they should return to the Central Assembly only those Muslims who would be pledged to support the specific Muslim questions connected with the Central subjects and arising out of their position as the second great nation of India. Those who are now for Provincial policies and programmes were themselves instrumental in getting indirect elections for the Central Assembly introduced into the

constitution obviously because this suited a foreign Government. Now when the community wants to make the best use of this misfortune (i.e., indirect elections) by proposing an All-India scheme of elections (e.g., League scheme) to be adhered to by the Provincial candidates, the same men, again at the instance of a foreign Government, have come out to defeat the community in their effort to retain its solidarity as a nation.

2. Question of Wakf Law arising out of Shahidganj, culture, language, mosques and personal law.

Private and Confidential. Lahore
25th June, 1936.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Sikandar Hayat left Lahore a day or two ago. I think he will meet you at Bombay and have a talk with you about certain matters of importance. Daultana saw me yesterday evening. He tells me that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party are prepared to make the following declaration :

"That in all matters specific to the Muslim community as an all-India minority they will be bound by the decision of the League and will never make any pact with any non-Muslim group in the Provincial Assembly.

"Provided the League (Provincial) makes the following declaration :

'That those returned to the Provincial Assembly on the League ticket will co-operate with that party or group which has the largest number of Muslims."

Please let me know at your earliest convenience what you think of this proposal. Also let me know the result of your

talk with Sir Sikandar Hayat. If you succeed in convincing him he may come to our side.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal,

Strictly Confidential.

Lahore
20th March, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you have read Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's address to the All-India National Convention and that you fully realise the policy underlying it in so far as Indian Muslims are concerned. I believe you are also aware that the new constitution has at least brought a unique opportunity to Indian Muslims for self-organisation in view of the future political developments both in India and Muslim Asia. While we are ready to-co-operate with other progressive parties in the country, we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims. I therefore suggest that an effective reply should be given to the All-India National Convention. You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Delhi to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as other prominent Muslim leaders. To this convention you must restate as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. Front the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem. If you could hold this convention, it would test the credentials of those Muslim legislators who have formed parties contrary to the aims and aspiration of Indian Muslims. It would further make it

clear to the Hindus that no political device, however subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity. I am coming to Delhi in a few days' time and hope to have a talk with you on this important matter. I shall be staying in the Afghan Consulate. If you could spare a few moments, we should meet there. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

P.S. Please excuse me. I have got this letter written by a friend as my eyesight is getting bad.

Lahore
22nd April, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not know whether my letter which I posted to you about two weeks ago ever reached you. I posted it to your address at New Delhi, and when I went to Delhi later, I discovered that you had already left Delhi. In that letter I proposed that we should hold immediately an All-India Muslim Convention say at Delhi, and once more to restate the policy of Indian Muslims both to the Government and to the Hindus.

As the situation is becoming grave and the Muslim feeling in the Punjab is rapidly becoming pro-Congress for reasons which it is unnecessary to detail, I would request you to consider and decide the matter as early as possible. The session of the All-India Muslim League is postponed till August, and the situation demands an early restatement of the Muslim policy. If the Convention is preceded by a tour of prominent Muslim leaders, the meeting of the Convention is sure to be a great success. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal.
Bar-at-Law

Confidential.

28th May, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which reached me in due course. I am glad to hear that you will bear in mind what I wrote to you about the changes in the constitution and programme of the League. I have no doubt that you fully realise the gravity of the situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organisation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses.

Under the new constitution the higher posts go to the sons of upper classes; the smaller go to the frienls or relatives of the ministers, in other matters too our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that equality due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come. The atheistic socialism of Jawahar Lal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question therefore is: how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promises I am sure the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at last the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states.

This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, e.g., N.W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawarhar Lal's socialism into the body-politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve the problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawahar Lal Nehru.

Anyhow I have given you my own thoughts in the hope that you will give them serious consideration either in your address or in the discussions of the coming session of the League. Muslim India hopes that at this serious juncture your genius will discover some way out of our present difficulties.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal.

P.S. On the subject-matter of this letter I intended to write to you a long and open letter in the press. But on further consideration I felt that the present moment was not suitable for such a step.

Private and Confidential. Lahore
June 1st, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. I know you are a busy man; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you that we are actually living in a state of civil war which, but for the police and military, would become universal in no time. During the last few months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. In North-West India alone there have been at least three riots during the last three months and at least four cases of vilification of the Prophet by Hindus and Sikhs. In each of these four cases, the vilifier has been murdered. There have also been cases of burning of the Qur'an in Sind. I have carefully studied the whole situation and believe that the real cause of these events is neither religious nor economic. It is purely political, i.e., the desire of the Sikhs and Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in the Muslim majority provinces. And the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims. The result is that the Muslim Ministry can take no proper action and are even driven to do injustice to Muslims partly to please those on whom they depend, and partly to show that they are absolutely impartial. Thus it is clear that we have our specific reasons to reject this constitution. It seems to me that the new constitution is devised only to placate the Hindus. In the Hindu majority provinces, the Hindus have of course absolute majorities, and can ignore Muslims altogether. In Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on Hindus. I have no doubt in my mind that this constitution is calculated to do infinite harm to the Indian Muslims. Apart from this it is no solution of the economic problem which is so acute among Muslims.

The only thing that the communal award grants to Muslims is the recognition of their political existence in India. But such a recognition granted to a people whom this constitution does not and cannot help in solving their problem of poverty can be of no value to them. The Congress President has denied the political existence of Muslims in no unmistakable terms. The other Hindu political body, i.e., the Mahasabha, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of the Hindus, has declared more than once that a united Hindu-Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. Many British statesmen also realise this, and the Hindu-Muslim riots which are rapidly coming in the wake of this constitution are sure further to open their eyes to the real situation in the country. I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that may take 25 years to come. Some Muslims in the Punjab are already suggesting the holding of North-West Indian Muslim Conference, and the idea is rapidly spreading. I agree with you, however, that our community is not yet sufficiently organised and disciplined and perhaps the time for holding such a conference is not yet ripe. But I feel that it would be highly advisable for you to indicate in your address at least the line of action that the Muslims of North-West India would be finally driven to take.

To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?

Personally I think that the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal ought at present to ignore Muslim provinces. This is the best course to adopt in the interests of both Muslim

majority and minority provinces. It will therefore be better to hold the coming session of the League in the Punjab, and not in a Muslim minority province. The month of August is bad in Lahore. I think you should seriously consider the advisability of holding the coming session at Lahore in the middle of October when the weather is quite good in Lahore. The interest in the All-India Muslim League is rapidly growing in the Punjab, and the holding of the coming session in Lahore is likely to give a fresh political awakening to the Punjab Muslims.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

Private and Confidential. Lahore
7th October, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A strong contingent from the Punjab is expected to attend the Lucknow Session of the League. The Unionist Muslims are also making preparations to attend under the leadership of Sir Sikandar Hayat. We are living in difficult times and the Indian Muslims expect that your address will give them the clearest possible lead in all matters relating to the future of the community. I suggest that the League may state or restate its policy relating to the communal award in the shape of a suitable resolution. In the Punjab and I hear also in Sind attempts are being made by misguided Muslims themselves to alter it in the interests of the Hindus. Such men fondly believe that by pleasing the Hindus they will be able to retain their power. I personally believe that since the British Government wants to honour the Hindus who would welcome the upsetter of the communal award they (the British Government) are trying to get it upset through their Muslim agents.

I shall prepare a list of 28 persons for the vacancies in the League Council. Mr. Ghulam Rasool will show you this list. I do hope that this choice will be carefully made. Our men will leave Lahore on the 13th.

The Palestine question is very much agitating the minds of the Muslims. We have a very fine opportunity for mass contact for the purposes of the League. I have no doubt that the League will pass a strong resolution on this question and also by holding a private conference of the leaders decide on some sort of a positive action in which the masses may share in large numbers. This will at once popularise the League and may help the Palestine Arabs. Personally I would not mind going to jail on an issue which affects both Islam and India. The formation of a Western base on the very gates of the East is a menace to both.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal,
Bar-at-Law

P.S. The League should resolve that no Province should come to any understanding with other communities regarding the award. This is an All-India question and must be settled by the League alone. Perhaps you may go further and say that the present atmosphere is not at all suitable for any communal understanding.

Private and Confidential.

Lahore
30th October, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you have already read the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. Your move in time has saved the situation, and we are all waiting for your observations on the Congress resolution. The Tribune of Lahore has already criticised it and I believe Hindu opinion will generally be opposed to it. However, it should not act as an opiate as far as Muslims are concerned. We must carry on the work of organisation more vigorously than ever and should not rest till Muslim Governments are established in the five provinces and reforms are granted to Baluchistan.

The rumour is that part of the Unionist Party does not mean to sign the League creed. So far Sir Sikandar and his

party have not signed it and I heard this morning that they would wait till the next session of the League. The idea, as one of themselves told me, is to slacken the activities of the Provincial League. However, I shall place you in possession of all the facts in a few days' time and then ask your opinion as to how we should proceed. I do hope that before the Lahore Session you would be able to tour the Punjab for at least two weeks.

Your Sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal,
Bar-at-Law

Strictly Private & Confidential.

Lahore
10th Nov., 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After having several talks with Sir Sikandar and his friends I am now definitely of the opinion that Sir Sikandar wants nothing less than the complete control of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board. In your pact with him it is mentioned that the Parliamentary Board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have a majority in the Board. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to their majority in the Board. I wrote to you some time ago to enquire whether you did agree to the Unionst majority in the Board. So far I have not heard from you. I personally see no harm in giving him the majority that he wants but he goes beyond the pact when he wants a complete change in the office-holders of the League, especially the Secretary who has done so much for the League. He also wishes that the finances of the League should be controlled by his men. All this to my mind amounts to capturing of the League and then killing it. Knowing the opinion of the province as I do I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact has already damaged the prestige of the League in this province, and the tactics of the Unionists may damage it still further. They have not so far signed the creed of the League and I understand do not mean to. The session of the League in Lahore they want in April instead of February. My impression

is that they want to gain time for their own Zamindara League to function in the province. Perhaps you know that on his return from Lucknow Sir Sikandar constituted a Zamindara League whose branches are now being made in the province. In these circumstances please let me know what we should do. Kindly wire your views if possible. If this is not possible write a detailed letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

1937

62. Seats captured by the Muslim League and the Congress during the General Elections of 1937, under the Government of India Act of 1935.

	No. of seats	Seats won by Congress	No. of Muslim seats	Seats won by Muslim League	Won by other Groups
Madras	215	159	28	11	17
Bombay	175	86	29	20	9
Bengal	250	54	117	40	77
U.P.	228	134	64	27	37
Punjab	175	18	84	1	83
Bihar	152	98	39	—	39
C.P.	112	70	14	—	14
N-W.F.P.	50	19	36	—	36
Assam	108	33	34	9	25
Orissa	60	36	4	—	4
Sind	60	7	35	—	35
Total	1585	714	484	108	376

1937

63. Allama Iqbal issued a statement on 27th July 1937, giving his views on the report for the partition of Palestine.

I assure the people that I feel the injustice done to the Arabs as keenly as anybody else who understands the situation in the Near East. I have no doubt that the British people can still be awakened to the fulfilment of the pledge given to the Arabs in the name of England. The British Parliament, I am glad to say, have in the recent Parliamentary debates left the question of partition open. This decision affords an excellent opportunity to the Muslims of the world emphatically to declare that the problem which the British statesmen are tackling is not one of Palestine only, but seriously affects the entire Muslim world.

The problem, studied in its historical perspective, is purely a Muslim problem. In the light of the history of Israel, Palestine ceased to be a Jewish problem long before the entry of Caliph Umar into Jerusalem more than 1300 years ago. Their dispersion, as Professor Hockings has pointed out, was perfectly voluntary and their scriptures were for the most part written outside Palestine. Nor was it ever a Christian problem. Modern historical research has doubted even the existence of Peter the Hermit. Even if we assume that the Crusades were an attempt to make Palestine a Christian problem, this attempt was defeated by the victories of Salah-ud-Din. I, therefore, regard Palestine as a purely Muslim problem.

Never were the motives of British imperialism as regards the Muslim people of the Near East so completely unmasked as in the Report of the Royal Commission. The idea of a national home for the Jews in Palestine was only a device. In fact, British imperialism sought a home for itself in the form of a permanent mandate in the religious home of the Muslims. This is indeed a dangerous experiment, as a member of the British Parliament has rightly described it and can never lead to a solution of the British problem in the Mediterranean. Far from being a solution of the British problem in the Mediterranean it is really the beginning of the future difficulties of British imperialism. The sale of the Holy Land, including the Mosque of Umar, inflicted on the Arabs with the threat of martial law and softened by an appeal to their generosity, re-

veals bankruptcy of statesmanship rather than its achievement. The offer of a piece of rich land to the Jews and the rocky desert plus cash to the Arabs is no political wisdom. It is a low transaction unworthy and damaging to the honour of a great people in whose name definite promises of liberty and confederation were given to the Arabs.

It is impossible for me to discuss the details of the Palestine Report in this short statement. There are, however, in recent history, important lessons which Muslims of Asia ought to take to heart. Experience has made it abundantly clear that the political integrity of the peoples of the Near East lies in the immediate reunion of the Turks and the Arabs. The policy of isolating the Turks from the rest of the Muslim world is still in action. We hear now and then that the Turks are repudiating Islam. A greater lie was never told. Only those who have no idea of the history of the concepts of Islamic jurisprudence fall an easy prey to this sort of mischievous propaganda.

The Arabs, whose religious consciousness gave birth to Islam (which united the various races of Asia with remarkable success), must never forget the consequences arising out of their deserting the Turks in their hour of trial.

Secondly, the Arab people must further remember that they cannot afford to reply on the advice of those Arab kings who are not in a position to arrive at an independent judgement in the matter of Palestine with an independent conscience. Whatever they decide they should decide on their own initiative after a full understanding of the problem.

Thirdly, the present moment is also a moment of trial for the Muslim statesmen of the free non-Arab Muslim countries of Asia. Since the abolition of the Capliphate this is the first serious international problem of both a religious and political nature which historical forces are compelling them to face. The possibilities of the Palestine problem may eventually compel them seriously to consider their position as members of that Anglo-French institution miscalled the

League of Nations and to explore practical means for the formation of an Eastern League of Nations.

1937

64. Presidential address of the Quaid at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow in October, 1937.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This session of the All-India Muslim League is one of the most critical that have taken place during its existence for the last more than thirty years.

The policy and the programme that you are called upon to formulate and lay down involves the fate and the future of the Mussalmans of India and the country at large. On 12th April 1936, the Muslim League at its session, the first time in its history, undertook the policy and programme of mass contact. The League considered the prevailing conditions and surveyed the situation as we had to face the forthcoming elections on the eve of the inauguration of the new Provincial Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and had no alternative but to enter the field and contest the elections to the Provincial Legislatures. It was also felt that there was no alternative but to utilise the Provincial Constitution for what it was worth, although it was far from being satisfactory. I may here reproduce the resolution that was passed on the 12th April, 1936:

Whereas the Parliamentary System of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new Constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate; and co-operation between groups with approximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the Constitution to the best advantage; and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community

and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organise themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme, it is hereby resolved that the All-India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Election Boards in various provinces, having regard to the conditions of each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid object.

In pursuance of that decision, the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was established in June 1936, and also in various provinces Provincial Boards were established to give effect to the resolution and the instructions of the League. It was not without difficulty and it was no small task to be performed, in the absence of any previous preparations or any existing efficient organisation and machinery. It was a stupendous undertaking to contest elections in all the provinces especially when Mussalmans all over India are numerically in a minority and weak, educationally backward, and economically nowhere.

There never had been made any systematic effort for their social and economic uplift. Whereas our sister communities have gone far ahead with their organisations and the systematic programme supported by a large bulk of people, especially the Hindus, who are not only in a majority but better trained, more disciplined and far better equipped educationally, economically and financially.

But here I may mention that within a short time of about six months' work, before the elections were over, the results were very hopeful, and there is no need for us to despair. In each and every province where the League Parliamentary Board was established and the League Parties were constituted we carried away about 60 and 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates, and

since the elections were over I find that hundreds of District Leagues have been established in almost every province from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province. Since April last the Mussalmans of India have rallied round the League more and more and I feel confident that once they understand and realise the policy and programme of the Muslim League, the entire Mussalman population of India will rally round its platform and under its flag. The Muslim League stands for full national democratic self-government for India. A great deal of capital is made as to phrases more for the consumption of the ignorant and illiterate masses. Various phrases are used such as Purna Swaraj, self-government, complete independence, responsible government, substance of independence and dominion status. There are some who talk of complete independence. But it is no use having complete independence on your lips and the Government of India Act, 1935, in your hands! Those who talk of complete independence the most, mean the least what it means. Was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in consonance with complete independence? Were the assurances that were required before the offices would be accepted and the Provincial Constitution could be worked consistent with Purna Swaraj, and was the resolution after the assurances were refused accepting offices and working the Provincial Constitution enacted by the British Parliament and forced upon the people of India by the imperialistic power in keeping with the policy and programme and the declarations of the Congress Party? Does wrecking mean working? These paper declarations, slogans and shibboleths are not only going to carry us anywhere. What India requires is a complete united front and honesty of purpose and then by whatever name you may call your government is a matter of no consequence so long as it is a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Mussalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu, and since they have formed the Governments in six provinces where they are in a majority

they have by their words, deeds and programme shown more and more that the Mussalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands. Whenever they are in majority and wherever it suited them, they refused to co-operate with the Muslim League Parties and demanded unconditional surrender and signing of their pledges.

The demand was insistent: abjure your party and forswear your policy and programme and liquidate the Muslim League; but where they found that they had not a majority, like the North-West Frontier Province, their sacred principle of collective responsibility disappeared, and promptly the Congress Party was allowed in that province to coalesce with any other group. That any individual Mussalman member who was willing to unconditionally surrender and sign their pledge was offered a job as a minister and was passed off as a Mussalman minister although he did not command the confidence or the respect of an overwhelming majority of the Mussalman representative in the legislature. These men are allowed to move about and pass off as Muslim ministers for the "loyal" services they have rendered to the Congress, by surrendering and signing the pledge unconditionally and the degree of their reward is the extent of their perfidy. Hindi is to be the national language of all India, and the Bande Matram is to be the national song, and is to be forced upon all. The Congress flag is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their hand that Hindustan is for the Hindus; only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mince words. The result of the present Congress Party policy will be, I venture to say, class bitterness, communal war and strengthening of the imperialistic hold as a consequence. I dare say that the British Government will give the Congress a free hand in this direction, and it matters very little to them, nay, on the contrary, it is all to the good, so long as their interests, imperial or otherwise, are not touched and the Defence remains intact, but I feel that a fearful reaction will set in when the Congress has created more and more

divisions amongst Indians themselves, and made the united front impossible.

Here it will not be out of place to state that the responsibility of the British Government is no less in the disastrous consequences which issue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Government and the Governor-General who have been given the powers and special responsibility to safeguard and protect the minorities under the Constitution which was made so much of by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, during the controversy of the assurances demanded by the Congress Party, have failed to use them and have thereby been a party, they have been a party to passing off men as Muslim ministers by appointing them as such, although they know full well that they do not command the confidence of the Muslim representatives or the public outside. If, in a matter like this, the Governors have shown their utter helplessness and disregard for their sacred obligations which were assumed by the British Government for the protection of minorities, could they or would they be able to afford protection in a hundred and one other matters which may not come up to the surface to be known in the day-to-day working of the Legislatures and the administrative machinery? These are very serious and not worthy signs of the time. The one wholesome lesson that I ask the Mussalmans to learn, before it is too late, is that the path before the Mussalmans is, herefore, plain. They must realise that the time has come when they should concentrate and devote their energies to self-organisation and full development of their power to the exclusion of every other consideration. I have pointed out before that a section of Mussalmans is divided, that there is a group that stands with face turned towards the British. If they have not learnt by now of the bitter consequences they will never learn. God only helps those who help themselves. There is another group which turns towards the Congress, and they do so because they have lost faith in themselves. I want the Mussalmans to believe in themselves and take their destiny in their own hands. We want men of faith and resolution who have the courage and determination and

who would fight single-handed for their convictions, though at the moment the whole world may be against them. We develop power and strength, till the Musalmans are fully organised and have acquired that power and strength which must come from the solidarity and the unity of people.

No settlement with the majority community is possible, as no Hindu leader speaking with any authority shows any concern or genuine desire for it. Honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals, and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement. Offers of peace by the weaker party always means confession of weakness, and an invitation to aggression. Appeals to patriotism, justice and fair play and for goodwill fall flat. It does not require political wisdom to realise that all safeguards and settlements would be a scrap of paper, unless they are backed up by power. Politics means power and not relying only on cries of justice or fair play or goodwill. Look at the nations of the world, and look at what it happening every day. See what has happened to Abbyssinia; look at what is happening to China and Spain and not to say of the tragedy of Palestine to which I shall refer later.

The Congress High Command speaks in different voices. One opinion is that there is no such thing as a Hindu-Muslim question, and there is no such thing as Minorities question in the country. The other high opinion is that if a few crumbs are thrown to the Mussalmans in their present disorganised and helpless state, you can manage them. They are sadly mistaken if they think that the Mussalmans can be imposed upon. The All-India Muslim League has now come to live, and play its just part in the world of Indian politics, and the sooner it is realised and reckoned with the better it will be for all interests concerned. The third opinion is that there is no light to be seen through the impenetrable darkness; but as the Congress goes on acquiring strength and power, so the past promises of the blank cheques remain unfilled and unsigned.

I want the Mussalmans to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having one single, definite, uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout India. The Congressite Mussalmans are making a great mistake when they preach unconditional surrender. It is the height of defeatist mentality to throw ourselves on the mercy and goodwill of others and the highest act of perfidy to the Mussalman community; and if that policy is adopted, let me tell you, the community will seal its doom and will cease to play its rightful part in the national life of the country and the Government. Only one thing can save the Mussalmans and energise them to regain their lost ground. They must first recapture their own souls and stand by their lofty position and principles which form the basis of their great unity and which bind them in one body-politic. Do not be disturbed by the slogans and the taunts such as are used against the Mussalmans—communalists, toadies, and reactionaries. The worst today on earth, the most wicked communalist today amongst Muslims when he surrenders unconditionally to the Congress and abuses his own community becomes the nationalist of nationalists tomorrow! These terms and words and abuses are intended to create an inferiority complex amongst the Mussalmans and to demoralise them; and are intended to be sown in their midst and give us a bad name in the world abroad. This is the standard of propaganda which can only be treated with contempt.

The All-India Muslim League certainly and definitely stands to safeguard the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities effectively. That is its basic and cardinal principle. This is the cause balli. That is why the Muslim League and those who stand by it have incurred the displeasure of the Congress, for what else are we doing what the Congress objects to? They are doing exactly what we decided two years ago. The League is not going to allow the Mussalmans to be exploited either by the British Government or any other party or group inside the legislatures or outside. The Congress with all its boasts has done nothing in the past for the Mussalmans. It has failed to inspire confidence and to create a sense of security amongst the Mussalmans, and other minorities. The

Congress attempt under the guise of establishing mass contact with the Mussalmans is calculated to divide and weaken and break the Mussalmans, and is an effort to detach them from their accredited leaders. It is a dangerous move, and it cannot mislead anyone. All such manoeuvres will not succeed, notwithstanding the various blandishments, catchwords and slogans. The only honest and straightforward course is to give the minorities a fair deal. All talk of the hunger and poverty is intended to lead the people towards socialistic and communistic ideas for which India is far from prepared. The Muslim League in the present conditions considers the policy of direct action as suicidal and futile. Two such attempts have hitherto failed and have entailed untold misery and suffering to the people, and it had to be wound up after two decades of persistent efforts in that direction with the result that a more reactionary Constitution is forced upon the people, and the Congress is working it now.

To ask by a resolution the Governor-General to convey to the Secretary of State for India to call a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise is the height of all ignorance. It shows lack of any sense of proportion. A constituent assembly can only be called by a sovereign authority and from the seat of power—a special body of men chosen as the representatives with the authority of the sovereign—to frame such constitution of the government of the country as they think proper, and their function ceases and the constitution so framed by them would automatically take the place and function as the constitution of the government of the country. Who is to constitute the electorates on the basis of adult franchise, and how many representatives will be chosen by these electorates constituted on the basis of adult franchise, and what will happen to the minorities in such constituencies, and what will the electorates understand, and how will they make their choice of this special body of men with final authority and power to frame the constitution of this great sub-continent ? Who will direct the machinery to choose the special body of men with representative authority to frame such constitution as they may think proper? Who will set in motion the machinery? And,

above all, what will happen to the minorities in such a body? Is the Congress really serious that the Secretary of State is going to carry out all these requirements when, only a few days ago, the representative of the British Government speaking with the highest authority, His Excellency the Viceroy, said that he was full of hope that they might succeed in securing the federation of India in the near future, that when he came out to India he had expressed the hope that the scheme of federation was on the whole one calculated to secure federation within a reasonable time after the inauguration of Provincial autonomy.

Taking the country as a whole, the Congress is still far from occupying the seat of authority, and it is a travesty of realities to think of British Government calling a constituent assembly and for the ability of the Congress to do so is pure moonshine. Let the Congress first bring all principal communities in the country and all principal classes of interest under its leadership. To ask the foreign Government, who is the ruling and sovereign authority in this country, to convene such a body before even the communal bodies in India have accepted the leadership of the Congress is like putting the cart before the horse, and not to forget that one-third of Indian India stands on very special footing constituting the Indian States and ruling Princes.

Palestine:

Instead of ploughing the sands, let the Congress at least concentrate and see that the all-India Federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is more reactionary than even the present Central Constitution, is not brought into being, as now it is so emphatically and confidently asserted by those who speak with authority on behalf of the British Government that it is soon going to be inaugurated. What is the Congress going to do? Do they think that they can single-handed as a party prevent it? Or will some other formula be evolved and the Congress quietly accept it as a fait accompli, as it had done the Provincial Constitution, in spite

of all the rantings of some of the foremost leaders of the Congress against it?

May I now turn and refer to the question of Palestine. It has moved the Mussalmans all over India most deeply. The whole policy of the British Government has been a betrayal of the Arabs from its very inception. Fullest advantage has been taken of their trusting nature. Great Britain has dishonoured her proclamation to the Arabs which had guaranteed to them complete independence of the Arab homelands, and the formation of an Arab confederation under the stress of the Great War. After having utilised them by giving them false promises, they installed themselves as the mandatory power with that infamous Balfour Declaration, which was obviously irreconciliable and incapable of simultaneous execution, and having pursued the policy to find a national home for the Jews, Great Britain now proposes to partition Palestine and the Royal Commission's recommendation completes the tragedy, and if given effect to must necessarily lead to the complete ruination and destruction of every legitimate aspiration of the Arabs in their homeland; and now we are asked to look at the realities. But who created this situation? It has been the handiwork and brought about sedulously by the British statesmen. The League of Nations had, it seems, and let us hope, not approved of the Royal Commission's scheme and a fresh examination may take place. But is it a real effort intended to give the Arabs their due? May I point out to Great Britain that this question of Palestine, if not fairly and squarely met, boldly and courageously decided, is going to be the turning point in the history of the British Empire. I am sure I am speaking not only of the Mussalmans of India but of the world, and all sections of right thinking and fair minded people will agree when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honour her original proclamation, promises and intentions—pre-war and even post-war—which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large. I find that a very tense feeling of excitement has been created and the British Government, out of sheer desperation, are resorting to repressive measures and ruthlessly dealing with the public opinion of

the Arabs in Palestine. The Muslims of India will stand solidly and will help the Arabs in every way they can in their brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds. May I send a message on behalf of the All-India Muslim League of cheer, courage, and determination in their just cause and struggle which I am sure they will win through.

To the Mussalmans of India in every province, in every district, in every tahsil, in every town, I say, your foremost duty is to formulate a constructive and ameliorative programme of work of the people's welfare and to devise ways and means of social, economic and political uplift of the Mussalmans. We shall not hesitate to co-operate with any party or group in any practical and constructive programme for the welfare and advance of the provinces or the country. I entreat and implore that every man, woman and child should rally round one common platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. Enlist yourselves by hundreds and thousands as quickly as you can as members of the All-India Muslim League, Provincial Leagues and District Leagues. Organise yourselves, establish your solidarity and complete unity. Equip yourselves, as trained and disciplined soldiers. Create the feeling of esprit de corps, and of comradeship amongst yourselves. No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering and sacrifice. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannise over you and intimidate you and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this crucible of fire and persecution which may be levelled against you, tyranny that may be exercised, the threats and intimidations that may unnerve you, and it is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing these disadvantages, hardships, and by suffering and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty that a nation will emerge worthy of its past glory and history and will live to make the future history greater and more glorious not only of India but in the annals of the world. Eighty millions of Mussalmans in India have nothing to fear.

They have their destiny in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organised, united force can face any danger, and

withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands. Take your vital decisions—they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences. Think a hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal, and I feel confident that success is with you.

1937

65. Resolution on Shahidganj Mosque passed at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on 18th October, 1937.

The session of the All-India Muslim League condemns the wanton demolition of the Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore as a most intolerable interference with the Law of Islam and in view of the fact that this demolition was carried out in broad daylight under the protection of British troops and British guns calls upon the British Government to restore the mosque to its original condition and thus avoid an inevitable conflict between the Muslims of India and the British Government whose representative in the Province failed to perform his elementary duty of protecting an admittedly Muslim mosque.

Proposed by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Punjab.
Seconded by—Prof. Malik Enayatulla Saheb, Punjab.
Supported by—Begum Saheba Habibulla, U.P., Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, Punjab, Maulana Omar Daraz Beg Saheb, U.P.

1937

66. The Independence Resolution passed at the annual session of the League at Allahabad on 18th October, 1937.

Resolved that the object of the All-India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution.

Proposed by—Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb, U.P.
Seconded by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Punjab.
Supported by—Shamsul Hasan Saheb, Bengal.
" Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb, Delhi.
Abdul Waheed Saheb, N-W.F.P.
" Maulana Syed Murtaza Bahadur, M.L.A., Madras.
" Syed Abdur Rauf Saheb, C.P.
" The Hon. Hosain Imam, Bihar.
" M. Ghiasuddin Saheb, M.L.A., Punjab.
" Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi, Bengal.
" I. I. Chundrigar Saheb, Bombay.
" Munshi Azhar Ali Saheb, M.L.A.
" Choudhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb, U.P.

1937

67. Resolution on Urdu adopted at the annual session of the League at Allahabad on 18th October, 1937.

As the Urdu language was originally an Indian language and was the result of inter-action of Hindu and Muslim culture and it was spoken by a great part of the people of this country, it was best suited to develop a united nationality, and the attempt to replace it by Hindi might upset the structural basis of Urdu otherwise known as Hindustani and adversely affect the growth of comradeship between the Hindu and Muslim sections, the All-India Muslim League calls upon all the Urdu speaking people of India to make every possible endeavour to safeguard the interests of their language in every field of activity with which the Central and the Provincial Governments were concerned and wherever the Urdu language was the language of the area, its unhampered use and development should be upheld and where it was not the predominant language, adequate arrangement should be made for teaching it as an optional subject and in all Government Offices, Courts, Legislatures, Railway and Postal Departments provision should be made for its use.

Efforts should also be made to make Urdu the universal language of India.

Proposed by—Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb (Raja Saheb Mahmudabad U.P).

Seconded by—Maulana Karimur Raza Khan Saheb, U.P.

" Hasan Riaz Saheb, U.P.
" Ghulam Hasan Saheb, Berar
" S. M. Hasan Saheb, Bombay

1937

68. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th October, 1937, at Lucknow, condemning the recommendations of the Royal Palestine Commission.

That the All-India Muslim League declares in the name of the Mussalmans of India that recommendations of the Royal Palestine Commission and the subsequent statement of policy presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament conflict with their religious sentiments and in the interests of world peace demands its rescission without further delay.

The All-India Muslim League calls upon the Government of India to issue instructions to the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League of Nations that in view of the failure of the present mandatory to carry out the terms of the mandate which was never accepted by Arabs and the rest of the Islamic world and in order not to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arabs they shall demand the annulment of the mandate and disassociate themselves from any decision tending to perpetuate it and thus to violate the fundamental right of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to choose the form

of Government best suited to their needs and requirements as guaranteed to them under international treaties.

The All-India Muslim League appeals to the rulers of Muslim countries to continue to use their powerful influence and best endeavours to save the holy places in Palestine from the sacrilege of non-Muslim domination and the Arabs of the Holy Land from enslavement of British Imperialism backed by Jewish finances.

The All-India Muslim League places on record its complete confidence in the Supreme Muslim Council and the Arab Higher Committee under the leadership of His Eminence the Grand Mufti and warns the local administration in Palestine not to aggravate the resentment already created in the Muslim world by a policy of repression as advocated by the Royal Commission against the people of the country ostensibly to uphold law and order but in reality calculated to further the interest of aliens through the scheme of partition.

The All-India Muslim League expresses its entire confidence in the leader and members of the delegation selected by the Palestine Conference held on September 24 and 25, 1937 and appeals to every friend of the Arabs in India to raise a united voice to redress their grievances.

This session of the All-India Muslim League warns the British Government that if it fails to alter its present pro-Jewish policy in Palestine the Mussalmans of India in consonance with the rest of the Islamic world will look upon Britain as the enemy of Islam and shall be forced to adopt all necessary measures according to the dictates of their faith.

Proposed by—Abdur Rahman Saheb Siddiqi, Bengal.
Seconded by—Maulana Karam Ali Saheb, Lucknow.
Supported by—Begum Saheba Mohammad Ali, Delhi.
" Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb, Badaun.
" Begum Saheba Mian Shah Nawaz, Lahore.

" The Hon. Syed Mohammad Hosain.
" Ali Bahadur Habeebullah Saheb, Lucknow.
" Mohammad Abdul Sattar Saheb Khairi, Aligarh.

1937

69. Quaid's letter to Mir Barkat Ali, dated 20th November, 1937.

Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
20th November, 1937

Dear Mr. Barkat Ali,

I have received a very long letter from Ghulam Rasool and also from Sir Mohammed Iqbal and from yourself. I have not been well enough to tackle the various details that are referred to there. But it seems to me that it is unnecessary to stress points of detail. May I just state one principle, that once the Muslim members of the Unionist Party or any Mussalman who becomes a Leaguer and pledges himself to the creed, policy and programme, he is no longer anything else but a Leaguer, and those who have been already in the League are not better than the Leaguers. Perhaps you might say that the others have now realised that the policy and the programme which we initiated are the right ones, and hence they wholeheartedly join us. After that there is no such thing as this group or that group, or that party or this party, because then it really means various cliques. And I assure you that if you people have a little patience these small matters of detail will be adjusted farily and justly and mainly in the interests of the cause for which we stand.

I hope you will show this letter to Sir Mohammed Iqbal and Ghulam Rasool. I have appointed some members to the Central Parliamentary Board which was suggested by Sir

Sikandar Hayat, but that does not mean that I am not going to appoint some other members representing Punjab which may be suggested by Sir Mohammed Iqbal, Malik Zaman Mehdi Khan, Ghulam Rasool and yourself.

I should like most respectfully to draw your attention that you have been using my name for the 'New Times' as one of the patrons, which I am very sorry to say I do not approve of, because I do not think it is fair that one paper should be allowed to use my name and thereby directly or indirectly conveying to the public that I am connected with the paper whereas it is not a fact that I have any connection of any kind with the 'New Times'. I welcome the 'New Times' inasmuch as it is advocating and championing the cause of the All-India Muslim League. Therefore, I hope you will not misunderstand me if I request you to stop using my name as a patron of the 'New Times'. I will reply to your letter in detail when I am a little better and other also.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

P.S.—I want you to show this letter to all our friends as I am not well enough to reply separately.

1937

70. Letter written by Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 1st December, 1937.

Mustafa Castle,
Meerut, December 1, 1937

My Dear Panditji,

Pray accept my profuse apologies for the Inordinate delay that has occurred in replying to your letter of Nov. the 11th, which I received under a registered cover, some days after I had written to request you to furnish me with a copy of it.

I believe that delay in its receipt was due to the fact that it had been following me about from place to place.

I am sensible of the courtesy which has prompted you to write this letter and give me the benefit of your considered views on the present situation in the country, specially with reference to the accentuation of communal bitterness. While I fully appreciate your concern at the unfortunate turn events have taken, and share your distress at the exacerbation of communal feelings and religious antagonisms, yet I cannot endorse your wholesale condemnation of the Muslim League spokesmen, or accept the accuracy of the reports on which your information on this point is based. I cannot help thinking, if you will forgive me for saying so, that you have been rather hasty in arriving at conclusions on the basis of information supplied to you from interested quarters and that you have not properly sifted or scrutinised the evidence in support of rather serious allegations which have been made against our workers. Some of them indeed are most fantastic and have caused me considerable amazement, for I assure you, I was not aware that such statements were being broadcast by our authorised workers. Of course, our organisation cannot be responsible for the speeches and .statements of those who have nothing whatsoever to do with our organisation. Would you kindly tell me where and by whom these statements are supposed to have been made? During elections many persons who have no connection with the League, but are interested in its candidate also go about preaching for which the League cannot be held responsible.

You are perfectly right when you say that we should conform to a certain standard in our public work and should not unnecessarily arouse religious passions and animosities, but I make bold to say that this advice is as much needed by the Moulvies and propagandists employed by the Congress to popularise its policy and programme among the Muslim masses, as by the Leaguers. I wonder whether the speeches delivered by the Ahrar leaders who are today espousing the Congress cause have ever been reported to you. I also do not

know whether you ever read Vernacular papers in which they are often reproduced. If you have not done so, I cannot possibly describe here the filthy abuses of the Muslim League and its leaders in which these heroic gentlemen indulge. Suffice it to say that their speeches often verge on obscenity and vulgarity; yet they are received everywhere by Congressmen with acclamations and commissioned by Congress Committees to plead the cause of their candidates in every election. I am afraid that your workers purposely refrain from furnishing you with information which would not be to their credit. It is not my intention to enumerate here our grievances against those who have been working or speaking on behalf of the Congress, nor do I propose to refer at any length to the anti-Muslim League propaganda which has been carried on for several months past by the so-called nationalist press, both English and Vernacular. I shall, however, draw your attention to a drama published in a paper called 'Hindustan' of which the Hon. the Premier of the U.P. is supposed to be a Director. I should like to know what you think of it after you have read it. Then again, please, read the speech delivered at the Punjab Political Conference by no less a person than Sardar Sardool Singh Cavesheer in which he does not spare even the private life and religious beliefs of Mr. Jinnah. If responsible people can talk in this manner, why should it cause you any surprise if ordinary speakers do not conform to any very high standard in their criticisms.

I am sure that you must be aware that the nationalist press has been vilifying and calumniating our most respected leaders without any protest from any Congress publicman of eminence. The patience of the Mussalmans is well nigh exhausted and if they, therefore, hit back, it may be occasionally below the belt, you should not feel greatly horrified. The advent of democracy has let loose on the country orators and speakers who in their criticisms and utterances are not restrained by any consideration of measure or decorum. It will take some time before things settled down and conventions are established. I could easily multiply the few instances I have given here; but what useful purpose would that serve? It is not likely

to advance the cause which you have in view, namely, the discussion of the public affairs on their merits without importing religious or sectional considerations. Mere apportioning of blame or fixing responsibility for the present unhappy state of affairs on any particular community will not, I venture to say, help in easing the situation. If we honestly desire to find out the root cause of this conflict, we shall have to approach the problem in a different manner; but if the idea is merely to prevent the dissemination of irresponsible and loose talk, all I can say is that I shall be happy to cooperate with you in any measures which you may consider necessary for this purpose.

You have referred to certain posters and statements and speeches made during the Bijnor and Bundelkhand elections to which you take strong exception. I am convinced that in trying to achieve success in election people often stoop to all kinds of things and address appeals to the lowest instincts and sentiments of the masses. This is not peculiar to India but it is prevalent in most countries having democratic constitutions. Three more bye-elections are being hotly contested by the two organisations which, I have no doubt, will further aggravate communal feelings. Undue importance is being given to the success at these elections, not so much by the League as by the Congress, for it challenges the right of the League to represent Mussalmans. It possible that the situation may improve after the elections are over, though I am not sure whether the mass contact movement which is being carried on aggressively by the Congress among the Muslims, will not continue to cause friction and maintain the present tension.

You have very kindly asked me to define our points of agreement and points of difference, but I think, having regard to our readiness to work in the Legislature on the basis of Wardha Programme which, as you say is fairly comprehensive, it is now for you to point out where you still differ from us. With a view to help you to study the whole question, I am attaching to this the resolutions of the All-India Muslim League, passed at its annual session held at Lucknow in October last, together with a copy of our election manifesto. You will note

from these resolutions that the League has altered its creed and has democratised its constitution. They will also indicate, I have no doubt, that as far as the interest of the whole country is concerned, there is not much difference between the policies and programmes of the two organisations. In this connection I may be permitted the liberty of stating that if this mass contact movement had not been thrust upon us and if the Muslim League Parties had not in the various Legislatures been so contemptuously treated by the Congress, wherever they happened to be in majority, the Mussalmans would have been nearer the Congress ideals today than they are likely to be for some considerable time to come. I know many Mussalmans who had Congress leanings or had been formerly active members of that organisation, view with grave suspicion and dismay this new move of the Congress. This is the reason why you find men like Moulana Qutabuddin, Abdulwali Saheb and Syed Zakir Ali Sahib, Joint Secretary of the U.P.M.L. Parliamentary Board, adopting this line of thought and giving expression to it in their statements of which you naturally disapprove. These are their honest convictions which they are ready to justify. They claim the right to put their own interpretations on the policy which the Congress is at present pursuing with regard to Mussalmans, and I believe you will not dispute their right to do so, though you may entirely disagree with their interpretations. There are many thinking Mussalmans who firmly believe that the Congress by this movement is trying to destroy Muslim solidarity and create disruption in the community, and that the Muslim supporters of the Congress are being financed and helped by the Congress which, as at present constituted, is an overwhelmingly Hindu body, to fight their co-religionists and subdue them. Another factor which has contributed to the accentuation of differences is the appointment to ministerial offices of persons who have abjured their parties and only recently joined the Congress.

I have mentioned some of these facts so that they may help you in studying the other side of the case.

I shall now briefly deal with some of the points raised specifically in your letter:

Your recent resolution on the Communal Award has certainly removed one great grievance of the Muslim community and we trust it will be allowed to stand.

I have read with great interest your article on the language and script question. I am thankful to you for sending me a copy of it. It makes practical suggestions for solving this difficult question and I am sure it will receive approbation from every fair-minded man.

I have already made my observations on the "fantastic statements" purported to have been made by some Muslim Leaguers in Bijnor and elsewhere. All that I wish to say here is that local Congress Committees should be directed to draw the attention to the local Muslim Leagues whenever people are found indulging in such reckless and irresponsible talk.

You complain that no responsible Muslim Leaguer has condemned the violence perpetrated by a League volunteer on a Congress Muslim worker in a running train, I may tell you in this connection, that we instituted an enquiry into the incident and found that the volunteer in question had sufficient provocation to justify the act. I think the less said about this incident the better. Moreover, as the case is still sub-judice, it will not therefore be proper to say more on the subject.

I am sorry that you should think that the Muslim Leaguers encourage resort to violence. There is no foundation for such an assumption.

It is not the Muslim Leaguers who have raised the cry of 'Islam in danger', it is our opponents who have put this into our mouths. Every Muslim believes that Islam can never be in danger.

You rightly deprecate the charges of bribery levelled against your colleagues of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. But what are they in comparison to the most atrocious charges that are being laid daily against Moulana Shokat Ali by Congress Muslims. They only demonstrate our moral degradation.

I had also heard at Bijnor that you had snatched away a Congress flag from the hand of a volunteer on which 'Allah-o-Akbar' was inscribed, because you considered it an unauthorised innovation. I am gratified to learn that there was no shadow of foundation for this stupid rumour.

As regards Moulana Shokat Ali's assertion that peasant voters in Bijnor were influenced by Revenue Officials and others to vote for the Congress candidate, all that I can say is that he must have some evidence to justify it, otherwise I cannot understand his making such a statement. I shall inquire from him and let you know.

It is open to Dr. K. M. Ashraf to clear his position by contradicting in the press false statements attributed to him. I am sorry at what took place in a recent meeting of the Aligarh University Union, when he was addressing it. But you will agree that the Muslim League had nothing to do with this episode. You would be glad to learn that the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University has condemned the behaviour of the students in a press statement recently.

You say that 'the spirit of violence is evident' and you quote certain instances to prove it. May I enquire from you whether you attribute it to the activities of the Muslim League. I do not wish to draw unjust inferences, but from what you have said in your letter I feel that you imply that we have deliberately created this noxious atmosphere. If that is so, I hotly deny it; if, however, you have mentioned these instances only to show that communal bitterness is prevalent in the country and that efforts should be made to remove it and bring about a better understanding between the two

communities, we are prepared to welcome your endeavours in that direction and assist you to the best of our ability.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Ismail Khan

1938

71. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Council, adopted on 20th March 1938, at Delhi, on setting up the National Guards Organisation.

Resolved that the Volunteer Corps under League organisation all over the country be called "The Muslim National Guard of India" and the uniform shall be green shirt or coat with a badge consisting of Crescent and Star in white.

1937

72. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th October 1937, at Lucknow, condemning imposition of the song, Bande Matram, on Muslims.

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the attitude of the Congress in foisting Bande Matram as the National Anthem upon the country in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims and considers this song not merely positively anti-Islamic and idolatrous in its inspiration and ideas, but definitely subversive of the growth of genuine nationalism in India.

This meeting further calls upon the Muslim members of the various legislatures and public bodies in the country not to associate themselves in any manner with the highly objectionable song.

Proposed by—Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan Saheb, Calcutta.

Seconded by—Maulvi Syed Badruddoja, Calcutta
Supported by—Mohammad Habibullah Saheb, U.P.
" K. B. Haji Rashid Ahmad, Delhi.

1938

73. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 17th and 18th April 1938, at Calcutta, condemning communal riots in India.

That this Special Session of the All-India Muslim League views with alarm the large number of communal riots which are taking place in U.P., Bihar, C.P., Bombay and other provinces resulting in loss of life and property of the Mussalmans. In the opinion of the League the Congress Government have signally failed to discharge their primary duty of protecting the Muslim minorities in their provinces, and it declares that if immediate steps are not taken to protect the Mussalmans by the Congress Governments, the consequences to the country as a whole will be disastrous. The League congratulates the Muslims in the villages and towns on patience and forbearance that they have shown during these occurrences. This Session calls upon the Provincial Leagues to collect all necessary information about all these incidents and to submit their reports to the Council of the All-India Muslim League at an early date.

Proposed by—Sh. Zahur Ahmad Saheb, M.L.A.
Seconded by—The Hon. Hosain Imam, Behar.
Supported by—Mr. M. Iftekhar Ali, C.P.

1938

74. In order to come to an agreement, the Quaid laid down the following conditions vis-a-vis position of the League and the Congress in the talks that were to ensue between him and Mr. Bose.

"The Congress and the All-India Muslim League, as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussal-

mans of India, have hereby agreed to the following terms of a Hindu-Muslim settlement by way of a pact".

1938

75. Correspondence between the Quaid-e-Azam and Abdul Sattar Khairi, May 1938.

23rd May, 1938

My Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is only with the purpose of strengthening your hands that I am writing this to you. We, here in Aligarh, have the fullest faith in YOU. We feel that the interests of not only 90,000,000 Indian Muslims are secure in your hands but also those of the generations to come. BUT it is rather disquieting to hear that pressure is being brought on you to bring about an understanding at any cost, provided some selfish members may be able to get a few big jobs.

Such a move shall be catastrophic at this stage when the Muslims are on the way to solidarity and organisation. The most fundamental fact and right that the 90,000,000 of Indian Muslims are in THEMSELVES A GREAT NATION and A SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY must not be sacrificed. If the Congress Hindus are made to recognise this, then every other thing not inconsistent with this is a minor thing.

Such a demand is not even in modern history and current politics a new thing. According to the Peace Treaty of St. Germain in 1919, the great DEMOCRATIC powers of the world (England, France, U.S.) created a DEMOCRATIC state, Czechoslovakia and granted to the Germans and the Slovaks equal rights with the Czechs. The Czechs were also signatories to the treaty. The Germans, for instance, in it, were granted to have their own schools, their own courts and judges and equal share in the Government of the land. A sort of full autonomy, as in Switzerland, was promised to them. Of course the promises were not kept. The oppression continued till

their brothers on the other side of the borders became strong etc., etc.

The Muslims have been now aroused. The spirit which you have breathed into them is now a matter of fact and cannot be ignored.

I know, we are still disorganised, and the temptation is great to have a respite. Please do not yield to any kind of pressure. Act only according to your inner political self.

I pray that God shall give you strength in this great trial and true insight into the needs of the Indian Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
Sattar Khairi.
A member of the League.

Bhopal,
18th September, 1938

Dear Mr. Sattar Khairi,

I thank you for your letter of the 8th August, 1938, and I am sorry I was not able to reply to your letter because I was not well. I thank you for the paper called "The Spirit of the Time". I read it with interest and it is very good of you to promise to send me its copy regularly.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

District Jail, Dehra Dun (U.P.)
Tuesday, August 12, 1941. 8 P.M.

My Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have the fullest trust in your leadership. Only a fool would not see what position the Muslim League has gained during the last three years. We have been always advancing

and that too quite rapidly, in spite of the kind of following you have had. That in his last speech, Mr. Amery speaks of insuperable objections to such a scheme as the so-called Pakistan scheme, at any rate in its extreme form, I find rather encouraging. There are still much more encouraging statements in his speech. He finally seems to dismiss the English parliamentary system as unsuitable for India. Then he seems to be positive that the Congress is never likely to enjoy such a powerful position in the Government of India as they would have enjoyed in the now dead constitution. But there is no finality in politics. Mr. Amery or Mr. Churchill or anybody else is not going to fight our battles. We alone must solve our problems. Under your leadership we hope we will do so.

Muslim University

In the monthly, "Palestine and Middle East" of January 1, 1941, on page 13, there is an article on the Hebrew University and War. It begins as follows: "When the Hebrew University was projected it was conceived not only as the centre of Jewish learning but equally as an institution which would grapple with the manifold scientific problems confronting the development of the Jewish National Home........" And we know what part the Hebrew University has been playing in the realization of the political aspiration of the Jewish Nation. And yet, Mr. Jinnah, excluding your personal interest, which I appreciate fully, the Muslim League as an organization has been criminally neglecting this source of all real power. Nay, the Leaders of the U.P. Muslim League have served as the Fifth Column of the Congress, and unknowingly as the agents of the anti-religious Communistics-International. I take all the responsibility of making this bold statement on me. It is an irrefutable fact that Nawab Ismail Khan, the President of the U.P. League, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, the Leader of the Muslim League party in the U.P. Assembly and our popular Leader Raja Sahib Mahmudabad and some other living or now dead, brought by canvassing and by their own votes into the Muslim University Court Congress Muslim M.L.A.'s from various provisional and Central Assem-

blies, because they thought these Congress Muslims will cast their votes against Dr. Sir Ziauddin. Mr. Jinnah you remember, three years ago both Dr. Ziauddin and Nawab Ismail Khan at your advice withdrew their names from being candidates for the Vice-Chancellorship. I have heard from a big Congress Leader, though just now I have forgotten his name, that Pandit Vallabh Pant was angry with Nawab Ismail Khan on account of withdrawing his name, for Mr. Pant had made all arrangements for leave, etc., for such members of the University Court who were to vote for the Nawab Sahib. Nawab Ismail Khan has been the greatest supporter of Dr. Zakir of the Jamia Millia, who had been doing his best to introduce Congressminded members in the Staff and the Court. Another great friend of Nawab Sahib has been Khan Bahadur Deputy Habibullah, the bitter enemy of all League workers in the University. About this Dr. Abid, Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmed and myself protested once to Nawab Sahib. So far once he stayed at Dr. Abid's when he came on League business. And once we three and a few others spoke to Nawab Sahib about Dr. Zakir. Upon this the Nawab lost all self-control and was full of rage. And now the thing has been exposed. They have been the cause of party feeling in the University. For years they have been intriguing to bring in Congress-walas in the key positions in the University. It were these persons who had brought in the Executive Council of the University men like Tasadduq Ahmed Sherwani, Abdul Majid Khwaja, Khwaja Abdul Hameed of Okasa fame. And now when everything is out and when they find that in spite of all their intrigues and, let me say boldly, their treachery to Islam they have lost the power they had been wielding so long, they have at last resigned from the membership of the Executive Council of the University.

Members of the Muslim League in the University, its officials and I regard the election of Dr. Ziauddin as the greatest victory of the Muslim League and this against the grim opposition of the U. P. Muslim League. Does it not look like an anomaly ?

In today's 'Statesman' I read, "This University is a Moslem institution which has preserved an Islamic atmosphere and respect for Islamic tenets. For those who oppose and undermine Islamic beliefs and practices in addressing the students of the Muslim Universities are open, "declared Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor, in addressing the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, at the beginning of the new session today......" But these will remain in words uttered into the air to be lost unless someone who is energetic, enthusiastic and capable takes them up and sees that the doctor sticks to them. Instead, I am sure, there will be lots of energetic opposition to him.

I know, we are still disorganised and the temptation is very great to have a respite. Please do not yield to any kind of pressure. Act only according to your inner political self. All you have been telling us shows that your inner political self is very sound and is very fully Islamic.

I pray that God shall give you strength in this great hour of trial and true insight into the needs of the Indian Muslims.

Very sincerely yours,
Sattar Khairi.
A member of the League's Council

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill.
27th August, 1941.

Dear Mr. Khairi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of August, and thank you for it. The various suggestions that you have made will certainly receive my careful consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Muhmd. Abdus Sattar Khairi,
Muslim University, Aligarh (U.P.)
Sunday October 29, 1944 10.20 A.M.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Peace. It is just to inform you that I have come back to Aligarh and I thank you heartily for all you did for my release during the early days of my detention. No one's efforts succeeded because Allah had planned for me. I know that even the Government could not release me though they tried more than once. But when the hour came they could not keep me a day longer. I used to write to you from the jail but in the Parole Camp at Naini Tal I was told not to write to political personalities. I did not even need then to write. My faith in you by that time had grown so strong that I could call you "AMEEN". I was never disappointed in all what you said or did. In fact almost always I felt what your reaction to such and such a matter would be and I was always right.

What I feel and know and I am sure that you feel and know still more that we so-called Muslims lack Islamic character and without it nothing Islamic can be done. Today is the first time I am writing any letter after my release. Mr. Jinnah I had unique opportunities to mediate, think and plan in jail and in the camp. I have not wasted my time. And when I feel to work, I feel twenty years younger. I am sure that Pakistan will come but only then when we depend for our success only on Allah and on our own strength bestowed to us by Allah. And this time is bound to come. Pakistan shall be achieved by the efforts of truly honest and sincere Muslims howmuchsoever unpleasant, disagreeable and abhorrent it may be to others. I have faith in Allah, I have faith in you and I have faith in myself.

Then I have work before me. I am healthy, strong and young. I hope that you too are keeping good health and are feeling younger and younger. God may preserve you for the work to be done.

Yours sincerely,
Sattar Khairi.

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi,
8th November, 1944

My Dear Mr. Khairi,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 29th, and I thank you for it. I am glad that you are a free man. Of course, I do not know why you were subjected to detention, but you know that I am always against any man's liberty being taken away without a judicial trial.

I am glad that you are well and full of hopes, and that you will work for the betterment of Muslim India. I know we have many difficulties, but I think we have made tremendous progress, and we have every reason to be encouraged, having regard to the enthusiastic support and sympathy we have of millions of our people. If we work in an organized and united spirit, I am confident that we shall achieve our goal of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1938

76. Correspondence exchanged between the Quaid-e-Azam as President of the Muslim League and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the All-India National Congress, in 1938.

In May 1938, the Quaid issued the following statement to the Press:

'To say that the Congress is ready and willing to negotiate a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question with the Muslim League in one breath and in another to say that the Muslim League is not a representative organisation of the Muslims is so transparently ridiculous, and yet the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, arrogates to himself, on behalf of the Congress, the right to say that Congress is the one organisation

not only able to deliver the goods but also discuss with the British Government a final solution of the Indian problem.

"Mr. Bose has magnanimously assured the minorities that while refusing to acknowledge the Muslim League as the one representative political organisation of the Muslims, the Congress would do what was fair and just towards all minorities. Mr. Bose clearly, consciously or unconsciously, identified himself with the majority community by making such a declaration. I congratulate Mr. Bose for having said that, because that is the honest and true position."

1938

Jinnah-Bose Correspondence

On May 15, Mr. Bose addressed the following letter to the Quaid :

26, Marine Drive, Bombay.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night I gave you a note explaining our position. You asked me what constructive proposals we had to make. I think the note is self-explanatory. Having made known the Congress reaction to your suggestion, according to us it remains now to proceed to the next stage, namely, appointment of respective committees which will jointly settle the terms of understanding.

Yours sincerely,
Subhas C. Bose.

On May 16, Quaid-e-Azam wrote to Mr. Bose as follows :-

Little Gible Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Dear Mr. Bose,

I acknowledge the receipt of a note you handed over to me on behalf of the Congress on the 14th and also I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 15th of May

1938. The matter will be placed before the Executive Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at a meeting after which I will communicate to you the decision as soon as possible.

On June 6, Quaid-e-Azam wrote to Mr. Bose :

Dear Mr. Bose,

I am enclosing herewith the unanimous opinion of the Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League as promised by the note given to me by you on behalf of the Congress on the 15th May, 1938.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

Resolution No. 1

The Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League has considered the note handed by the President, Mr. Subhas C. Bose, on behalf of the Congress to Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League, on the 14th May and his letter of the 15th May, 1938, and find that it is not possible for the All-India Muslim League to treat or negotiate with the Congress, the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the basis that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India.

Resolution No. 2

The Council have also considered the letter of Mr. Gandhi, dated the 22nd May 1938, and are of opinion that it is not desirable to include any Muslim in the personnel of the proposed committee that may be appointed by the Congress.

Resolution No. 3

The Executive Council wish to make it clear that it is the declared policy of the All-India Muslim League that all

other minorities should have their rights and interests safeguarded so as to create a sense of security amongst them and win their confidence and the All-India Muslim League will consult the representative of such minorities and any other interest as may be involved when necessary.

The following telegram was sent by the President to Mr. Jinnah on June 21:

"Returned yesterday. Received letter. Thanks. Regret delay acknowledgement.—Subhas Bose".

On June 27, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose addressed the following letter to the Quaid-e-Azam:

38|2 Elgin Road, Calcutta.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 6th instant forwarding the resolutions of Executive Council of the Muslim League reached Calcutta duly, but as I was on tour I did not get them till my return on the 20th instant. I telegraphed to you the next day, acknowledging the receipt of your letter.

The Working Committee of the Congress will meet at Wardha on the 9th July. Your letter and the resolutions of the Muslim League will be placed before the Committee and I shall acquaint you with its decision as soon as possible thereafter. I had been to Wardha and have just returned from there.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,
Subhas C. Bose.

Mr. Bose addressed the following letter to the Quaid-i-Azam from Wardha:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Working Committee has given all the attention it was possible for it to give to the resolution of the Council of the Muslim League which you were good enough to enclose

with your letter of the 6th June 1938. The first resolution of the League Council defines the status of the League. If it means that before we proceed to set up a machinery for considering the terms of settlement of the communal question, the Congress should recognise the status as defined in that resolution, there is an obvious difficulty. Though the resolution does not use the adjective "only" the language of the resolution means that the adjective is understood. Already the Working Committee has received warnings against recognising the exclusive status of the League. There are Muslim organisations which have been functioning independently of the Muslim League. Some of them are staunch supporters of the Congress. Moreover, there are individual Muslims who are Congressmen, some of whom exercise no inconsiderable influence in the country. Then there is the Frontier Province which is overwhelmingly Muslim and is solidly with the Congress. You will see that in the face of these known facts, it is not only impossible but improper for the Congress to make the admission, which the first resolution of the League Council apparently desires the Congress to make. It is suggested that status of organisation does not accrue to them by any defining of it. It comes through the service to which a particular organisation has dedicated itself. The Working Committee, therefore, hopes that the League Council will not ask the Congress to do the impossible. Is it not enough that the Congress is not only willing but eager to establish the friendliest relations with the League and come to an honourable understanding over the much-vexed Hindu-Muslim question ? At this stage it may perhaps be as well to state the Congress claim. Though it is admitted that the largest number of persons to be found on the numerous Congress registers are Hindus, the Congress has a fairly large number of Muslims and members of other communities professing different faiths. It has been an unbroken tradition with the Congress to represent all communities, all races and all classes to whom India is their home. From its inception it has often had distinguished Muslims as presidents and as general secretaries who enjoyed the confidence of the Congress and of the country.

The Congress tradition is that although a Congressman does not cease to belong to the faith in which he is born and brought up, no one comes to the Congress by virtue of his faith. He is in-and-out of the Congress by virtue of his endorsement of the political principles and policy of the Congress. The Congress, therefore, is in no sense a communal organisation. In fact, it has always fought the communal spirit because it is detrimental to the growth of pure and undefiled nationalism.

But while the Congress makes this claim, and has sought with more or less success, to live up to the claim, the Working Committee would be glad if your Council would come to an understanding with the Congress in order that we might achieve national solidarity and whole-heartedly work for realising our common destiny.

As to the second resolution of the Council, I am afraid that it is not possible for the Working Committee to conform to their/desire expressed therein.

The third resolution, the Working Committee is unable to understand. So far as the Working Committee is concerned, sought with more or less success, to live up to the claim, the sense that it seems to serve Muslim interests only and its membership too is open only to Muslims. The Working Committee also has all along understood that so far as the League is concerned, it desires and rightly, a settlement with the Congress on the Hindu Muslim question and not on questions affecting all minorities. So far as the Congress is concerned, if the other minorities have a grievance against the Congress, it is always ready to deal with them as it is its bounden duty to do so, being by its very constitution an organisation representative of all-India without distinction of caste or creed.

In view of the foregoing I hope that it will be possible for us to take up the next stage in our negotiation for reaching a settlement.

It is suggested that as the previous correspondence has already been published, it would be wise to take the public into confidence and publish the subsequent correspondence between us. If you are agreeable, these documents will be immediately released for publication.

Yours sincerely,
S. C. Bose.

On August 2, the Quaid-e-Azam addressed the following letter to Mr. Bose :

Malabar Hill, Bombay, Aug. 2

Dear Mr. Bose,

I placed your letter, dated the 25th of July, 1938, before the meeting of the Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League.

The Executive Council gave its earnest attention and careful consideration to the arguments which are mentioned in your letter for persuading it not to claim the status it has done in its resolution No. 1 already communicated to you.

I am desired to state that in defining the status the Council was not actuated by any motive of securing an admission, but had merely stated an accepted fact.

The Council is fully convinced that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative political organisation of the Mussalmans of India. This position was accepted when the Congress-League Pact was arrived at in 1916 at Lucknow and ever since till 1935 when the Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad conversation took place, it has not been questioned. The All-India Muslim League, therefore, does not require any admission or recognition from the Congress, nor did the resolution of the Executive Council at Bombay. But in view of the fact that the position—in fact the very existence—of the League had been questioned by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the then President of the Congress, in one of his statements, wherein

he asserted that there were only two parties in the country, viz., the British Government and the Congress, it was considered necessary by the Executive Council to inform the Congress of the basis on which the negotiations between the two organisations could proceed.

Besides the very fact that the Congress approached the Muslim League to enter into negotiations for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, it presupposed the authoritative and representative character of the League and as such its right to come to an agreement on behalf of the Mussalmans of India.

The Council are aware of the fact that there is a Congress Coalition Government in N-W.F.P. and also that there are some Muslims in the Congress organisation, in other provinces. But the Council is of opinion that these Muslims in the Congress do not and cannot represent the Mussalmans of India, for the simple reason that their number is very insignificant and that, as members of the Congress, they have disabled themselves from representing or speaking on behalf of the Muslim community. Were it not so, the whole claim of the Congress alleged in your letter regarding its national character would fall to the ground.

As regards "the other Muslim organisations" to which reference has been made in your letter, but whom you have not even named, the Council considers that it would have been more proper if no reference had been made to them. If they collectively or individually had been in a position to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India, the negotiations with the Muslim League for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question would not have been initiated by the President of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi.

So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it is not aware that any Muslim political organisation has even made a claim that it can speak or negotiate on behalf of the Muslims of India. It is, therefore, very much to be regretted that you

should have referred to "other Muslim organisations" in this connection.

The Council is equally anxious to bring about a settlement of the much vexed Hindu-Muslim question, and thus hasten the realisation of the common goal, but it is painful to find that unsuitable arguments are being introduced to cloud the issue and retard the progress of the negotiations.

In view of the facts stated above, the Council wishes to point out that it considers undesirable the inclusion of Mussalmans in the Committee that might be appointed by the Congress, because it would meet to solve and settle the Hindu-Muslim question and so in the very nature of the issue involved, they would not command the confidence of either Hindus or the Mussalmans and their position indeed would be most embarrassing. The Council, therefore, request you to consider the question in the light of the above negotiations.

With reference to the third resolution, it was the memorandum of the Conference referred to in your letter dated the 15th of May, 1938, in which mention of other minorities too was made and the Muslim League expressed its willingness to consult them if and when it was necessary in consonance with its declared policy.

As regards your desire for the release of the correspondence including this letter, for publication, the Council has no objection to your doing so.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

On August 16, Mr. Bose addressed the following letter to the President, All-India Muslim League :

. . "38|2 Elgin Road Calcutta
August 16, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 2nd August 1938. I regret the delay in replying to it. As the issue is a very important one I desire to place your letter before the Congress Working Committee at its next meeting in September. Thereafter you will hear from me again.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Subhas Bose.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Working Committee have considered your letter of October 10, 1938 and regret the decisions contained therein. Since the Committee do not find it possible to agree with the Council of the Muslim League as to the basis of the negotiation and since the Council insist that an agreement as to the basis is a sine qua non on any negotiations between the Congress and the League, the Working Committee regret that they are not in a position to do anything further in the direction of starting negotiations with the League with a view to arriving at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question.

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter but I did not want to say anything till the Working Committee met and considered the matter.

Since the previous correspondence has been published already, I am taking the liberty of issuing this to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
Subhas C. Bose.

1938

77. Resolution on Palestine passed by the All-India Muslim League on 31st July, 1938, at Delhi.

Resolved that "Palestine Day" be observed throughout India on Friday the 26th of August and the Council requests all the Muslim League organisations and appeals to the Mussalmans to hold meetings condemning the unjust, repressive, and inhuman policy that is pursued by the British Government and offer prayers for the complete success of our Arab brethren in their honourable and just struggle for freedom of their country.

The Council further appoints a committee consisting of the following members to consider the question of sending as influential deputation abroad, specially to Palestine and England and directs the Committee to consider the ways and means by which an effective pressure can be brought to bear upon the British Government and also advise the Council with regard to the question of the boycott of British goods. 1. Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb; 2. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb; 3. Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi 4. Maulana Kutubuddin Abdul Wali Saheb; 5. Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb; 6. Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb and 7. Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb, Convener of the Committee.

1938

78. Resolution adopted at the Sind Provincial Muslims League Conference held at Karachi on 7th, 8th and 9th October, 1938, condemning the Congress for its anti-Muslim attitude.

Whereas the refusal on the part of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to negotiate a communal settlement with the All-India Muslim League, on the plea that the All-India Muslim League is not the sole representative body of the Mussalmans of India indicates the Congress resolve to perpetually divide and rule the Muslim community,

and thus once more mar the prospects of an amicable and peaceful solution of the Indian minorities problem, for which the League has tried in vain for more than 15 years.

Whereas the Congress....by means of its powerful press and purse, launched a campaign of Muslim Mass Contact to cause disruption and division in the Muslim community with the object of deceiving the world into the belief that it is the sole representative organisation of entire India.

Whereas it has deliberately established purely Hindu rule in certain provinces by forming ministries either without Muslim ministers or with Muslim ministers having no following among Muslim Members, in direct and flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act 1935 and the Instrument of Instructions.

Whereas the ministries so formed have established a sort of rule which has for its aim the intimidation and demoralisation of Muslims, the extermination of the healthy and nation-building influence of Muslim culture, the suppression of Muslim religious customs and their religions obligations and elimination of their political rights as a separate community.

Whereas it has in open defiance of the democratic principles persistently endeavoured to render the power of the Muslim majorities ineffective and impotent in the North-Western Provinces, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind by trying to bring into power or by supporting coalition ministries not enjoying the confidence of the majority of Muslim members and the Muslim masses of those provinces.

Whereas Congress has superimposed the authority of its High Command, a sort of fascist dictatorship, over the working of the Congress ministries to prevent the healthy growth of parliamentary conventions and establishment of constitutional traditions, to deprive the Muslims of their due share and have refused to reconstitute ministries in consonance with the constitution, having due regard to the rights and interests of Muslims.

Whereas the Congress have decided.

(a) to enforce Vidya Mandir Scheme in the teeth of Muslim opposition;

(b) to foist the Bande-Matram on Muslims and others as a national anthem in callous disregard of the feeling of Muslims who consider the song as not only idolatrous but it is in origin and conception a hymn of hatred to Muslims;

(c) to make Hindi with Devangiri script as the lingua franca of India in total defiance of the protests and wishes of the minorities with a view to inculcate Hindu religious ideas, philosophy and culture and establish dominance of Brahmanic culture in India;

(d) to introduce and enforce joint electorates in local bodies with the strength of their majority and thus deprive Muslims of securing their true representation;

(e) to close Urdu schools wherever possible and discourage the teaching of the Urdu language, and thus ultimately wipe it off;

(f) to suppress freedom of press and freedom of speech and legitimate action under the pretext of preventing incitement to violence and maintenance of law and order;

(g) to interfere with the age-long religious privileges and usages of the Muslim community by force of arms and resort to repressive measures.

Whereas the majority community of India has fostered and maintained since thousands of years a rigid caste system of theirs which is a negative of nationalism, equality, demo-

cracy and all the noble ideals that the modern world aspires to and stands for and which system has further superimposed social and economic inequalities upon a vast body of the people of this country and reduced millions of them to the position of irredeemable helots.

And whereas the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and common ideals being impossible of realisation on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community, and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and outlook on life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts.

This Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interest of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self-determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be a suitable constitution for India which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them, and that this conference therefore recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.

Further this conference records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of the All-India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and is opposed to its introduction and urges upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and those of the Muslims in particular.

That this conference further declares that no constitution by whomsoever framed will be acceptable to the Muslims of India unless it conforms to the principle enunciated above and is prepared in consultation with and accepted by All-India Muslim League.

Proposed by—Shaikh Abdul Majid, M.L.A., Sind.
Seconded by—K. B. Gurmani, M.L.A. (Punjab).
Supported by—Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A. (Central).
" Sayed Abdul Rauf Shah, Advocate, M.L.A. (C.P.).
" Moulana Abdul Hamid Badauni, (U.P.).

1938

79. Resolution passed by the annual session of the League at Patna on 29th October, 1938, condemning the Balfour Declaration on Palestine.

It is the considered opinion of the All-India Muslim League that the unjust Balfour Declaration and the subsequent policy of repression adopted by the British Government in Palestine aim at making their sympathy for the Jews a pretext for incorporating that country into the British Empire with a view to strengthen British Imperialism, and to frustrate the idea of a federation of States and its possible union with other Muslim States. They also want to use sacred places in Palestine as aerial and naval bases for their future military activities. The atrocities that have been perpetrated on the Arabs for the attainment of this object have no parallel in history.

This Muslim League session regards those Arabs who are being subjected to all kinds of persecutions and repressions and who are making all sacrifices for preserving their sacred land, protecting their national rights and emancipating their motherland as heroes and martyrs and congratulates them on their bravery and sacrifice and warns the British Government that if it does not forthwith stop the influx of Jews into Palestine and does not include in the proposed conference the Grand Mufti, the genuine leader of Arabs as well as the representatives of the Indian Mussalmans the conference will be nothing but a farce.

This session declares that the problem of Palestine is the problem of the Muslims of the whole world, and if the British Government fails to do justice to the Arabs and fulfil the demands of the Muslims of the world, the Indian Muslims will adopt any programme and will be prepared to make any sacrifice that may be decided upon by a Muslim International Conference at which the Muslims of India are duly represented in order to save the Arabs from British exploitation and Jewish usurpation.

The session of the League warns the British Government that, if they persist in trying to give a practical shape to the idea prevalent among certain sections of the British and the Americans that Palestine be made the national home of the Jews, it will lead to a state of perpetual unrest and conflict.

Proposed by—Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb, U.P.
Seconded by—Maulana Irfan Saheb, Bombay
Supported by—Shah Husain Mian Saheb, Bihar
" Prof. Abdus Sattar Saheb Khairi, U.P.
" Maulana Abdul Khaliq Saheb, Sind
" Prof. Enayatullah Saheb, Punjab
" Sir Syed Raza Ali, M.L.A. Central
" Maulana Karam Ali Saheb, U.P.
" Maulana Akram Khan Saheb, Bengal.

1938

80. Extracts from a report issued in November 1938 by a committee appointed by the Council of All-India Muslim League to inquire into the serious grievances by the Muslims against Congress Ministries in various provinces. This report is known as the Pirpur Report.

Whereas numerous complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to the Muslims in various Congress Government Provinces and particularly to those who are workers and members of the Muslim League, the Council resolves that a

special committee be appointed consisting of the following members to collect all information, make all necessary inquiries, and take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the President and the Council from time to time: Raja Syed Mohammad Mehdi (Chairman), Mr. A. B. Habibullah (Secretary), Khan Bahadur Haji Rashid Ahmad, Syed Ashraf Ahmad, Molvi Abdul Ghani, M.L.A., Mian Ghyas-ud-Din, M.L.A., Syed Zakir Ali, Syed Hasan Riaz, Syed Taqi Haji Naqvi."

* * * *

The attitude of the Congress, however, made it impossible for the League to cooperate with it in spite of the efforts of a number of League leaders to maintain cordial relations. The just and legitimate demands of the Muslims were regarded as an inconvenient feature of political life. Contemptuous offers were made to the leaders of the Muslim League. They were asked to liquidate the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, disband the League parties in the legislatures and to sign unconditionally the Congress pledge. To the patriotic Muslims such a course meant the denial of their right to organise themselves in order to maintain their separate identity and preserve their culture, and a complete surrender to the Party which, on its own admission, was mostly composed of Hindus and which had failed to win the confidence of the Muslim voters in the general election.

The Congress parties adopted the very methods for which they had hitherto condemned the British Government. Rival Muslim organisations were started and spoon-fed by Congress Cabinets and Committees. Attempts were made not only to disregard the true representatives of the Muslims, but a virulent campaign of vilification was started against the Muslim League and its leaders with the help of a few Muslims who signed the Congress pledge. The temptation of office was held out of to those who joined the Congress and a few Muslims, who had been returned to the Legislatures on the ticket of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, were persuaded

to sign the Congress pledge and were given places in the Ministries as representatives of the Muslim masses.

* * * *

The last provincial election brought home to the Congress High Command the fact that the prestige of the Congress as a national organisation was in danger. The decision of the Congress not to contest elections in Muslim constituencies generally and the overwhelming defeats of its Muslim candidates in the very few elections that it contested completely exposed the hollowness of its pretensions to represent the Muslim masses.

The significance of the Congress defeats becomes more pronounced in view of the fact that the Congress possessed an unparalleled and a most powerful organisation in the country and that no Muslim party was in a position effectively to offer any strong opposition to it. The statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the defeats of the Congress candidates in the general election clearly shows that the Congress leadership was greatly alarmed at the opposition. But, unfortunately, instead of trying to find out the real cause of this antipathy, the Congress High Command launched the Muslim Mass Contact Movement.

* * * *

It was but natural for patriotic Muslims to feel aggrieved at the attitude taken up by the Congress High Command. The change in the attitude of the Congress Leaders, specially those of the United Provinces, was simply a revelation. Though the Mass Contact Movement was on the programme of the Congress no one heard about it until the general elections was over and Congress majorities was assured. Even then the Congress leaders, who made and unmade Cabinets and who appointed and dismissed Ministers avoided the Muslim masses and employed Maulvis to convert the Muslim masses to the Congress creed. The Maulvis, having no voice in the moulding of the Congress policy and programme, naturally could not promise to solve the real difficulties of the masses, a promise

which would have drawn the masses toward the Congress. The Maulvis and others employed for the work adopted the line of least resistance by creating a division among the Muslim masses by carrying on a most unworthy propaganda against the leaders of the Muslim League. Under these circumstances it was natural for the Muslims to conclude that this movement was directed only to lure the Muslims into the Congress fold and a policy of "divide and rule" was being followed by the Congress to avoid a settlement with the Muslim community on the real issues.

* * * *

When the Congress governments were formed direct conflict with the British Government ceased. The chief objective, which had so far brought together the different elements within the Congress fold, was lost sight of in the general scramble for power and the ideal for which the people had worked since 1920 was abandoned, at least temporarily. The course of true statesmanship for the Congress Cabinets lay in creating a calm and peaceful atmosphere and class wars and defiance of lawful authority were the last things to be encouraged at this juncture.

Unfortunately these were the things which were encouraged most. The authority of the police and other government agencies, which were so far responsible for the maintenance of law and order, was defied. People of a particular community were encouraged to believe that the government was now theirs. Instances of intimidation and defiance of lawful authority increased in number every day.

* * * *

Communal riots have unfortunately become more frequent in the Congress provinces and they have been largely the natural outcome of the disregard for law and order and disrespect for life and property preached by irresponsible Congressmen. It is a lamentable fact that not only have the occasions when communal tension has resulted in violent out-

breaks increased to an extent hitherto unknown, but fresh causes of friction have arisen as a result of the policy adopted by the Congress Government.

* * * *

The Karchi Congress resolution on the fundamental rights of minorities only guarantees them their rights so far as their observance does not lead to breach of peace. Thus it is only natural that this provision should be utilised by the Congress Ministers to deprive the Muslims of their civil rights.

* * * *

The Muslims knew that they were powerless and all that they could do was to adopt a policy of self-preservation based on peaceful relations with the majority community. It was the failure of the Congress Governments which largely depended on the support of the Hindu members to take strong measures against Hindu aggressive elements that resulted in the crop of communal disturbances all over the country.

* * * *

We may point out that the Urdu language came into existence as the result of an attempt to take a purely Aryan language and turn it into a common language so that both Hindus and Muslims may understand each other. It is not a purely Muslim language as the modern champions of Hindustani would have us believe nor is it spoken or understood in Islamic countries. The Muslims who came to India spoke either Persian or Arabic. There was no reason why they should have adopted an entirely new language if it was not for the purpose of having a common language with the inhabitants of the country. Urdu is thus the lingua franca of India........the great binder of different peoples.....

We may further point out that the Muslims, having decided to have Urdu as their mother tongue, took to the language in right earnest and their entire literature, including all branches of knowledge, has been built up in this language. As such they attach great importance to the preservation of Urdu

as written in the Persian script and would stoutly resist all attempts to destroy it..........

Various methods are employed to stop the slaughter of cows. We have received information that butchers, while returning with cattle from market places, have been assaulted. For instance, a few butchers were bringing cattle from village Kali, Sub-Division Jehanabad. They were attacked by Hindus at village Durmi in the Sadar Sub-Division of District Patna, and one of them was severely wounded with a spear and was admitted into hospital............

It is a national tragedy that at no time in the modern age certain minorities, particularly the Muslims, have felt so unsafe and so aggrieved as they do now under Provincial Autonomy by the unwise policy and unjust action of the present Government which has surrendered to militant mobs, composed mostly of ignorant, biased and intolerant people and assembled to prevent Muslims on various occasions from performing certain religious acts and exercising their civic rights.

....

Before the Congress took over the Government of the province, there was a provision in the budget of the interim Ministry for grant of scholarships to Muslim students as the Muslims are backward in secondary education. The Congress Cabinet cancelled this provision in the budget. This is one of the examples of how much the Congress cares for the educational advancement of the Muslims.........

81. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Council, adopted on 4th December, 1938, at Delhi, appreciating the services of the late Maulana Shaukat Ali.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League expresses its sincere appreciation of the multifarious services rendered by the late Maulana Shaukat

Ali to the nation. He exerted himself greatly for the establishment of the Muslim University, and he was one of the founders of Khudam-i-Kaba organization. The success of the Khilafat movement was to a great extent due to his organising ability and his untiring effort, and for this he cheerfully bore all the hardships of imprisonment. He gave his energies to saving the Muslims from the peril of the Nehru Report, while he worked unceasingly till the very last in order to ensure the success of the present organisation of the Muslim League. All his activities invariably aimed at winning independence for India and at the establishment of a lasting concord among the various communities of India. He had the courage and capacity to suffer patiently, and like a true Muslim he was always ready to sacrifice himself for Islam. His name deserves a prominent place in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sudden death of the great leader whose personality was an epitome of all the virtues —self-sacrifice, high resolution, amiableness and true friendship. His death is an irreparable national loss and the Council offers prayers for the deceased and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

1938

82. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed on 4th December, 1938, in Delhi, on the death of Kamal Ataturk.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deepest feelings of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Ataturk Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha whom it acknowledges as a truly great personality in the Islamic world, a great general and a great statesman. He rebuilt and revived the Turkish nation after its defeat and disintegration, and in spite of opposition from the European powers, succeeded in defeating the enemies of Turkey, and within a short time brought his country to the front rank of nations. By establishing a concord and alliance of the Eastern

Nations he guided the East to the true goal of political power and prosperity. His memory will inspire Muslims all over the world with courage, perseverance and manliness. With this expression of its heartfelt grief, the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League wishes to convey its message of sympathy and condolence to the Turkish nation in its great bereavement.

1938

83. Resolution on the death of Allama Iqbal passed on 29th December, 1938, at Patna by the annual session of the Muslim League.

Resolved that this session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the late Sir Mohammad Iqbal as a sage philosopher of Islam and a great national poet. He urged the Muslims to build their future in consonance with their great past. Though he is not among us, he lives for ever in his imperishable verse which would continue to inspire the life and actions of the Muslims all over the world.

This session deeply mourns for him and offers fervent prayers to the Almighty that the soul of the deceased may rest in peace.

1938

84. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1938, at Patna, sympathising with the Muslim sufferers in Burma.

"This session of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sympathy with the Indians in general and the Muslims in particular in Burma who have suffered great losses during the riots, and asks the Government of India to press the Government of Burma for adequate compensation to the Muslims who have in any way suffered

during the riots. Further this session requests the All-Burma Muslim League to keep the Muslims of India in touch with the general and political affairs of the Burma Muslims.

Proposed by—Zahur Ahmed Saheb, M.L.A., (U.P)
Seconded by—Mahmood Hasan Saheb, Madras.

1939

85. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th March, 1939, at Meerut, expressing concern at the fate of Muslims in Indian States.

In view of the set policy of the Congress and other Hindu organisations to achieve Hindu supremacy and their persistence in resorting to coercive and subversive methods in the Indian States, the Muslim League is gravely concerned with regard to the fate of the Mussalmans in various States and therefore earnestly advises them to effectively organise themselves forthwith in order to protect their liberties, rights and interests and assures them of its fullest support and assistance in their struggle.

1939

86. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th March, 1939, at Meerut, opposing the Scheme of Federation in the Government of India Act, 1935.

Whereas the All-India Muslim League is opposed to the Scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, and whereas the working of the provincial part of the Constitution has created grave apprehensions amongst Muslim and other minorities regarding their future, because the Provincial scheme has utterly failed to safeguard even the elementary rights of the Muslim minorities in various provinces, and whereas by a resolution passed at the Patna session in December 1938, the President of the All-India Muslim League was authorised to adopt such course as may be

necessary with a view to explore the possibility of a suitable alternative which will safeguard the interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities, the President with the concurrence of the Working Committee hereby appoints a committee of the following gentlemen to examine various schemes already propounded by those who are fully versed in the constitutional development of India and other countries and those that may be submitted hereafter to the President and report to the Working Committee their conclusions at an early date.

1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah (President)
2. The Hon. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan
3. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan Saheb
4. Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb
5. Sir Abdoola Haroon
6. The Hon. Sir Kh. Nazimuddin
7. Abdul Matin Choudhri Saheb
8. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb
9. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb (Convener)

1939

87. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th March, 1939, at Meerut, condemning Gandhi's "Fast unto Death".

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League deplores the action of Mr. Gandhi in launching upon his "Fast unto Death" on a matter of political issue involving amongst others the inclusion of two Muslim representatives on the Rajkot Constitutional Reforms Committee already nominated by the Thakur Saheb. This meeting therefore most earnestly urges upon the Thakur Saheb and H.E. the Viceroy, who has thought fit to intervene as representing the paramount power thereby creating a dangerous precedent, that in no case these two Muslim members who are the truly chosen representatives of the Muslims of Rajkot should be displaced now by the nominees of Mr. V. Patel. And it urges upon the Muslims of Rajkot and the Muslim Council to do all in their

power to resist any change with regard to their representation already declared, as the Muslim League is of opinion that any such change would be highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims of Rajkot.

1939

88. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th March, 1939, at Meerut, condemning the machinations of the Congress in endeavouring to set up Hindu domination in India

(1) In view of the revolutionary unrest that is stalking the land as a result of the intensive propaganda launched by the National Congress and its henchmen to establish Hindu hegemony all over India in utter disregard of the just and natural aspirations of Indian Mussalmans, this Council trusts, that, while giving the fullest protection to the Mussalmans of the Deccan who constitute the main strength of Islam in His Exalted Highness's Dominions, H. E. Highness's Government will provide for adequate representation of millions of depressed classes in the impending scheme of Constitutional Reforms and take effective steps to emancipate these voiceless millions from the bondage of high caste Hindus, who have hitherto monopolised all administrative and Executive power in the rural areas throughout the Dominions.

(2) This Council views with grave alarm the united onslaught of the Arya Somajists and the Hindu Mahasabhaites and their Congress friends on His Exalted Highness's Dominion on the unreal pretext that Hindu religion and Hindu civil liberty are in danger of extinction in those dominions and is firmly of the opinion that the indefensible policy of the Paramount Power in refusing to stop this subversive movement in British India against His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who is their 'Faithful Ally', has already resulted and will go on resulting in inter-communal clash for which the main responsibility lies on their shoulders.

In view of the fact that Gandhiji's direct interference in the affairs of the Indian States has for its main object the extinction of the sovereign prerogatives of the Indian rulers and the overlordship of the Congress-ridden majority popular front which is overwhelmingly Hindus as evidenced by the Rajkot episode and other activities of the Congress in Indian States the Council urges upon H. E. Highness's Government not to recognise outside agencies and further emphatically calls upon the British Government to stop these mischievous and dangerous activities as they are already creating communal tension and hatred and would lead to serious and disastrous consequences.

(Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A., (U.P.)
Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

1939

89. Resolution of the Working Committee of the League, 26th March, 1939, Meerut.

In view of the set policy of the Congress and other Hindu organisations to achieve Hindu supremacy and their persistence in resorting to coercive and subversive methods in the Indian States the Muslim League is gravely concerned with regard to the fate of the Mussalmans in various States and therefore earnestly advises them to effectively organise themselves forthwith in order to protect their liberties, rights and interests and assures them of its fullest support and assistance in their struggle.

1939

90. Resolution of the Working Committee of the League, Meerut, 26th March, 1939.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that at present as a first step the Muslim National Guard should be formed and organised in

each province under the direct supervision and authority of the presidents of the Provincial Leagues. Further resolved that a committee of the following members be appointed to examine and formulate a uniform basis for forming and organising Muslim National Guards all over India and make their report to the Working Committee on or before the 15th of June, 1939.

1. Raja of Mahmudabad (Convener); 2. Mr. Ziauddin, N. W. F. P; 3. Mr. Yousuf Haroon (Sindh), 3. Syed Amjad Ali Saheb (Punjab).

1939

91. Resolution passed on 26th March, 1939, at Meerut by the Working Committee of the League.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League views with grave concern the situation that is being created by the mischievous activities and propaganda of the Arya Samajists and Hindu Mahasabhaists all over India in organising and despatching jathas to Hyderabad, with the ostensible object of vindicating their religious rights, in order to coerce the State Administration. The offensive bearing of these jathas and shouting of provocative slogans has created intense bitterness among the Muslims and, unless these provocative jathas are stopped forthwith, there is a grave danger of sporadic clashes developing into widespread inter-communal strife throughout the country. The Working Committee urges upon the Provincial Governments and the paramount power to take immediate and adequate action in order to stop this mischief, which seriously threatens the peace and tranquillity of the country.

1939

92. Resolution of the Council of the Muslim League, Delhi, 28th April, 1939.

This Council places on record its appreciation of the courage and high sense of justice shown by Mr. Hofmeyr and Mr. Blackwell in refusing to acquiesce in the Union Government's anti-Indian policy by resigning from the United Party and hopes that the Union Government will consider the question of holding a Conference between the Governments of India and South Africa with regard to the removal of disabilities to which Indian settlers are at present subject. Further this Council fully sympathises with the Indians in South Africa in their struggle against the imposition of further disabilities and there is ample justification in the Council's opinion for Indians joining the common non-European front the object of which is to fight against racialism and colour bar which are the greatest handicap to advancement by non-Europeans in South Africa, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population of that country.

1939

93. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 2nd and 3rd July, 1939, at Bombay, expressing sympathy with Indian nationals in South Africa.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League expresses its full sympathy with Indian nationals in South Africa in their struggle against the obnoxious and unjust segregation measure and extends to them all possible help.

1939

94. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 2nd and 3rd July, 1939, at Bombay, on the rights of Indians in Ceylon.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government of India to take prompt steps for the protection of the rights of Indians in Ceylon.

1939

95. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 2nd and 3rd July, 1939, at Bombay, demanding justice for Indians in Belgian Congo.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to take immediate action to secure justice and fair treatment to the Indian nationals in Belgian Congo.

1939

96. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 2nd and 3rd July, 1939, at Bombay, condemning the White Paper on Palestine.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, having examined the White Paper on Palestine and having heard the Muslim League delegates, are of the opinion that the proposals embodied in the White Paper are most unsatisfactory and disappointing and are totally unacceptable.

The Committee urges upon the British Government to meet the Arab demands and redeem the solemn pledges made to the Arabs and the Mussalmans of India who stood by them solidly in the Great War.

1939

97. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 2nd and 3rd July, 1939, at Bombay, starting a Palestine Fund.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves that a Palestine Fund be opened forthwith for the relief of the dependents of those, who lost their lives or suffered in the struggle for independence, and for the protection of the First Qibla of Mussalmans. The following Com-

mittee, with powers to coopt, is appointed to devise ways and means of collecting money for the Palestine Fund and remitting the same to Palestine through the President of the All-India Muslim League.

1. Sir Abdoola Haroon
2. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui
3. Haji Abdussatar Haji Esak Saith
4. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim
5. Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman (Convener).

1939

98. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 27th and 28th August, 1939, at Delhi, disapproving the Federal Scheme of the Government of India Act 1935.

(a) Resolved that this Council, while deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and in particular Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors, in the Congress governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities and towards the Arabs in Palestine in refusing to meet their demands, holds the view that in these circumstances if the British Government desires to enlist the support and the sympathy of the Muslims of the world and particularly of the Indian Muslims in future contingencies it must meet the demands of the Muslims of India without delay.

(b) The Council considers it premature at present to determine the attitude of the Muslims in the event of a world war breaking out.

(c) The Council meanwhile directs the Muslim League, if necessary, to get in touch with the Islamic countries and ascertain their views.

(d) In case any sudden contingency arises, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League shall have the power to decide this issue.

1939

99. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 27th and 28th August, 1939, at Delhi, expressing concern at communal disturbances in India.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League views with alarm the unceasing recurrence of communal disturbances throughout India arising out of the question of music before mosques, ending in many cases in disastrous consequences to the Muslim community, and urges upon the Government of India to take such steps as may be necessary to arrive at a decision on this question particularly because the communities concerned have been unable to come to a settlement among themselves. The Council of the All-India Muslim League records its deliberate opinion that in case a solution of this question is not arrived at, which can be accepted by the communities as a satisfactory solution, there is a grave menace to public peace and tranquillity which would render ordered Government impossible in India.

1939

100. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 27th and 28th August, 1939, at Delhi, demanding separate electorates in District Local Boards.

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League declares that unless separate electorates are introduced in the election of members to the local bodies, district boards, etc., fair Muslim representation is not possible for the reasons

already elaborately discussed and pointed out in the fundamental principles laid down by the All-India Muslim League, and it further resolves that in places where the separate electorate is not in force and is keenly demanded by Muslims, the local Muslim Leagues be authorised to achieve this civic right.

1939

101. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 27th and 28th August, 1939, at Delhi, condemning the firing on Muslims of Cawnpore.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League views with grave concern the persistent attempts made to overawe the Muslims of Cawnpore and trample upon their civil liberties and elementary rights of citizenship as instanced by recent events culminating in the firing on Muslims on June 19, 1939.

The Council condemns the absolutely unwarranted and one-sided firing resorted to by the police on unarmed and unresisting Muslims near the Moulganj Mosque in Cawnpore; the Council further strongly protests against the desecration of the Moulganj Mosque and warns the Government against the disastrous consequences of such sacrilegious acts.

The Council deeply deplores the callous and provocative tone of the U.P. Premier's speech made in reply to the adjournment motion on the firing in the U.P. Legislative Assembly and his refusal to concede the just demand of an impartial and independent inquiry into the firing.

The Council further condemns the action of the U.P. Government in instituting cases under Section 107 C.P.C. against the workers of the Muslim League of Badaun in connection with the happenings on the occasion of last Moharram and in proposing to impose a Punitive Tax of Rs. 25,000 on the Mussalmans alone. The Council expresses its deep sympathy with the Mussalmans of Badaun in their sad plight.

1939

102. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 27th and 28th August, 1939, at Delhi, demanding political reforms in Baluchistan.

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the policy of the British Government that in spite of continuous and repeated demands of the Muslims League, it has, in consideration of its military requirements, so far deprived the people of Baluchistan of their political rights which have already been granted to the rest of the provinces in British India.

The Council further deplores the fact that the people of Baluchistan are also being denied all those facilities for their educational advancement which are enjoyed by the rest of India.

This meeting strongly demands that the Province of Baluchistan should be granted Provincial Autonomy and also that a first rate college be established in the said Province for purposes of educational advancement.

(Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan,
Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

1939

103. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 17th and 18th September, 1939, at Delhi, recording the League's attitude towards the war efforts.

1. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League appreciates the course adopted by H. E. the Viceroy in inviting Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, and apprising him regarding the international situation resulting in war, and his own views, to be conveyed to

the Muslim League. The Working Committee have given their most earnest consideration to H. E. the Viceroy's views conveyed to them by the President and also to the pronouncement made by the Viceroy since the declaration of war by Great Britain as also His Excellency's address to the members of the Central Legislature on the 11th of September, 1939.

2. The Committee are of the opinion that the views expressed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League by its resolution No. 8 of the 27th of August, 1939, in the following words, "While deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution, and in particular the Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities; and towards the Arabs in Palestine in refusing to meet their demands, hold the view that in these circumstances if the British Government desires to enlist the support and the sympathy of the Muslims of the world, and particularly of the Indian Muslims in future contingencies, it must meet the demands of the Muslims of India without delay," are the true sentiments and opinions of the Mussalmans of India.

3. The Working Committee appreciate the declaration of H. E. the Viceroy, which is in the interest of India and particularly the Mussalmans, that the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, has been suspended. They wish that instead of its being suspended it had been abandoned completely and desire to convey to His Majesty's Government that they should do so without further delay. The Committee desire to make it clear that they do not endorse the "federal objective" of His Majesty's Government referred to by His Excellency in his address to the members of the Central Legislature and strongly urge upon the British Government

to review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution 'de novo' in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present Provincial Constitution of India and developments that have taken place since 1935 or may take place hereafter.

4. The Committee in this connection wish to point out that Muslim India occupies a special and peculiar position in the policy of India and for several decades it had hoped to occupy an honourable place in the national life, government and administration of the country and worked for free India with free and independent Islam in which they could play an equal part with the major community with complete sense of security for their religious, political, cultural, social and economic rights and interests; but the developments that have taken place, and especially since the inauguration of the Provincial Constitution based on the so-called democratic parliamentary system of government, and the recent experiences of over two years have established beyond doubt that it has resulted wholly in a permanent communal majority and the domination of the Hindus over the Muslim minorities whose life and liberty, property and honour, are in danger and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in various provinces.

5. That while Muslim India stands against exploitation of the people of India and has repeatedly declared in favour of "Free India", it is equally opposed to the domination of Hindu majority over Mussalmans and other minorities and vassalization of Muslim India and is irrevocably opposed to any "federal objective" which must necessarily result in a majority community rule under the guise of democracy and parliamentary system of government. Such a constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of the country which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a national state.

6. The Muslim League condemns unprovoked aggression and the doctrine that "might is right" and upholds the principles of freedom of humanity and "that the will of the strongest irrespective of right and justice cannot be allowed to prevail." The Committee express their deep sympathy for Poland, England and France. The Committee, however, feel that real and solid Muslim cooperation and support to Great Britain in this hour of her trial cannot be secured successfully if His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy are unable to secure to the Mussalmans justice and fair play in the Congress governed provinces where today their liberty, person, property and honour are in danger and even their elementary rights are most callously trampled upon. The Committee strongly urge upon His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy and Governor-General to direct the Governors to exercise their special powers, where any Provincial Ministry fails to secure justice and fair play to the Mussalmans or where they resort to oppression or interference with their political, economic, social, and cultural rights, in accordance with the sacred promises, assurances and declarations repeatedly made by Great Britain in consequence of which these special powers were expressly embodied in the Statute. The Committee regret to say that so far these special powers have remained dormant and obsolete and the Governors have failed to protect the rights of the Mussalmans under the threat by the "High Command" of the Congress that exercise of these special powers on the part of the Governors will lead to crises in all the Congress governed provinces, where they are in a solid majority.

7. While the Muslim League stands for the freedom of India the Committee further urge upon His Majesty's Government and ask for an assurance that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval.

8. The policy of the British Government towards the Arabs in Palestine has wounded deeply Muslim feeling and sentiment and all representations in that behalf have had no real effect so far. The Committee once more urge upon His Majesty's Government to satisfy the Arab national demands.

9. If full, effective, and honourable cooperation of the Mussalmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world today and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussalmans and take into its confidence the Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India.

10. At this critical and difficult juncture the committee appeal to every Mussalman to stand solidly under the Flag of the All-India Muslim League with a solemn and sacred determination to make every sacrifice for on it depends the future destiny and the honour of the 90 millions of Mussalmans in India.

(Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, M. L. A., (U.P)
Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League

1939

104. Resolution of the Working Committee of the League, New Delhi, 22nd October, 1939, on the statement of the Viceroy.

After careful examination of the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 17th October, 1939, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League appreciate that His Majesty's Government have emphatically repudiated the unfounded claim of the Congress that they alone represent all India, and note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government recognise the fact that the All-India Muslim League alone truly represents the Mussalmans of India and can speak on their behalf; also, that the rights and interests of the minorities and other important interests concerned have been duly recognised.

The Committee, however, feel constrained to state that the points of vital importance raised by the Muslim League in their statement dated September 18, 1939, are not precisely and categorically met. The Committee, therefore, venture to suggest that in order to secure co-operation on equal footing, as desired by His Excellency, further clarification and discussion of those matters that are left in doubt and have not been met satisfactorily are necessary with a view to arrive at a complete understanding, which alone would enable the Muslim League to co-operate in the matter which concerns not only the Mussalmans of India, but the country at large.

The Committee cannot wholly accept the narration of facts culminating in the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1939, as given in the statement of His Excellency, but do not think it is necessary to enter into a controversy regarding those inaccuracies, historic and otherwise. The opposition of the Muslim League is not merely to the "details" of the plans embodied in the Act of 1935 and the reconsideration thereof, but their demand is that the entire problem of India's future constitution should be wholly examined and revised 'de novo'. The Committee reiterate emphatically that no future plan of India's Constitution will be acceptable to the Muslim League unless it meets with their full approval.

The Committee also considered the proposal of His Excellency the Viceroy for the establishment of a "consultative group", but cannot at present express any opinion with regard to it until its status, constitution, powers, scope and function are fully known but proposed by His Excellency in his statement.

In view of the urgency of the matter the Committee hereby authorise the President to take such steps as he may consider proper to have the doubts removed and secure complete clarification of His Excellency's statement and if the President is fully satisfied the Committee empower him to give assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the War.

1940

105. Quaid's letter to Mr. Gandhi.

Malabar Hill,
Bombay,
1-1-1940.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter and the advance copy of the article you have sent to the 'Harijan'. I not only thank you for your courtesy but also your anxiety to further the end you have been reading in my messages and actions. I, however, regret to have to say that your promises are wrong as you start with the theory of an Indian nation that does not exist, and naturally, therefore, your conclusions are wrong. I should have thought, however, that you at least would not be led away by one-sided newspaper reports and canards. There is so much in your article which is the result of living a secluded life at Segaon, and partly because all your thoughts and actions are guided by "inner voice". You have very little concern with realities, or what might be termed by what can be common between practical politics and yourself, between democracy and the dictator of a political organisation of which he is not even a four-anna member. But that is, I suppose, because you do not consider the Congress worthy of your membership.

I am glad to learn that you were not ruffled by the "Deliverance Day" greeting sent to you from Gulburg. It was indeed noble of you to join in the silent prayer "Long live Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah!" Although these are trivial matters, I nevertheless appreciate that you have realised the true inward meaning and significance of the "Deliverance Day".

It is true that many non-Congress Hindus expressed their sympathy with the Deliverance Day in justice to our cause, so also the leaders of the Justice Party and the Scheduled Castes, and the Parsis who had suffered. But I am afraid

that the meaning which you have tried to give to this alignment shows that you have not appreciated the true significance of it. It was partly a case of adversity bringing strange bed-fellows together, and partly because common interest may lead Muslims and minorities to combine. I have no illusions in the matter, and let me say again that ndia is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. Today you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what your motive in life was, the thing that leads us to do what we do, whether it was religious, or social, or political, said: "Purely religious". This was the question asked me by the late Mr. Montague when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. "How you, a social reformer, he exclaimed, have found your way into this crowd? My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The gamut of man's actitivies today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing.

More than any one else, you happen to be the man today who commands the confidence of Hindu India and are in a position to deliver the goods on their behalf. Is it too much to hope and expect that you might play a legitimate role and abandon your chase after a mirage? Events are moving fast, a campaign of polemics, or your weekly discourse in the 'Harijan' on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics, or your peculiar doctrines regarding khaddar, ahimsa and spinning are not going to win India's freedom. Action and statesmanship alone will help us in our forward march. I believe that you might still rise to your stature in the service of our land and make your proper contribution towards leading India to contentment and happiness.

Lastly, I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you shall use with my name. What is in a prefix? After all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet! So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much about it. I, however, notice that the present prefix you are using is according to the usage taught to you by the late Hakim Sahib. But surprisingly enough during his lifetime and till long after his death you addressed me as "Shree", and in between as "friend", but please do not bother about this matter.

1940

106. Resolution of the Working Committee of the League, New Delhi, 4th February, 1940.

Resolved that a delegation on behalf of the All-India Muslim League consisting of the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haque, the Hon. Sir Khawaja Nazimuddin, the Hon. Sikandar Hayat Khan and Choudhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb should visit England as soon as possible in order to put the case of Muslim India before the British people, the Parliament and His Majesty's Government.

1940

107. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 25th February, 1940, at Delhi, condemning Congress rule under the Scheme of Provincial Autonomy of the Government of India Act of 1935.

In view of the fact that the Muslims of India as well as some other classes of people living in the country have clearly demonstrated by their observance of the Day of Deliverance on December 22, 1939 that the scheme of Provincial autonomy as worked in the Congress governed provinces was a complete failure and detrimental to the interests of the Muslims and the country as a whole, the Council of the All-India Muslim

League expresses its dissatisfaction with the speech of H.E. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, delivered on January 10, 1940, at the Orient Club, Bombay, wherein he speaks of the success of the scheme of provincial autonomy in the Bombay Presidency.

This meeting of the Council of the League further places on record its sense of bitter resentment at the statement of the Under Secretary of State for India, wherein he gave the reasons of His Majesty's Government for not accepting the proposal for a Royal Commission of Inquiry, put forward by the President of the League, to inquire into complaints of oppression in Congress governed provinces and deeply deplores the colossal ignorance of conditions prevailing in India on the part of the Under Secretary of State.

1940

108. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 25th February, 1940, at Delhi, condemning British policy in the tribal areas.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League views with grave alarm the recent decisions of the British Government which creates the impression that it is intended to annex Waziristan, the homeland of the independent Pathan tribes, with whom a war on a miniature scale is being at present waged on what is known as the Ahmedzai salient across the Kohat-Bannu line. While the Council condemns the action of the border tribes, in carrying raids into British area it has no hesitation in once more declaring that these raids are inspired by the fear that the British Government is bent upon depriving the border tribes of their freedom which they love more than their lives. In view of the international situation in Europe and the danger of war spreading to Near and Middle East the Council calls upon the British Government to reconsider its forward policy and take immediate steps to pacify the border tribes and assure them that the British Government is not inimical to Islam and is anxious to restore peace

and order on its borders by friendly cooperation with the border tribes.

(Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A., (U.P.),
Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

1940

109. Resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore in its twenty-seventh annual session on 23rd March, 1940, commonly known as the 'Pakistan Resolution'.

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February, 1940, on the the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

If further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1939, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered 'de novo' and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles,

viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-westren and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs, and such other matters as may be necessary.

Proposed by—The Hon'ble Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Haque, Premier of Bengal.

Seconded by—Choudhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb, M.L.A. (U.P.)

Supported by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Central)

" Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (N.W.F. Province)

" Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A. (Central).

" K. B. Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, M.L.C. (Bihar).

Supported by—Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan Saheb, President of Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League.
" Abdul Hameed Khan, Saheb.. M. L. A. (Madras).
" I. I. Chundrigar Saheb, M. L. A. (Bombay).
" Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A. (C.P.)
" Dr. Mohammed Alum, M.L.A. (Punjab)
" Syed Zakir Ali Saheb, (U.P.)
" Begum Sahiba Maulana Mohammad Ali
" Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri, (U.P.)

1940

110. Presidential address delivered by the Quaid-e-Azam at the Lahore Session of the Muslim League in Lahore in March 1940, when the historic "Pakistan Resolution" was adopted as the goal of the Muslims of India.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organise the Muslim League all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established a Provincial League in every province. The next point is that in every by-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Mussalmans for having shown enormous spirit throughout our trials. There was a single by-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League

candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging in the direction of organising the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and work. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were: (1) to organise provincial and district Muslim League: (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness—if awakened amongst our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the service that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January, 1939, right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression to Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces.

We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that small state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would

have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of War. Before the War was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in the Central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the Central Federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of Central Federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the War was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of War, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important Party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet the Viceroy never thought of me before. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received, because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organising yourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that Muslim India is now conscious,

is now awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live for ever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of War, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil and the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom for all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus and slavery of Mussalmans and other minorities.

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences, and particularly by experience of the past 2½ years of provincial constitution in the Congress-government provinces we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed him. Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the Britishers to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and out, the Governors were supone and the Governor-General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentlemen's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thank Heaven, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. The bluff was called. So far so good. I, therefore, appeal to you, in all seriousness that I can command, to orga-

nise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves that you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

Now, what is our position with regard to the future constitution? It is that, as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the War at the latest, the whole problem of India's futune constitution must be examined 'de novo' and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this land by asking them to make declarations. However the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, "I have made the declaration". The Congress said, "No, no; we want another kind of declaration. You must declare and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as soon a franchise as possible. This assembly will of course satisfy the minorities legitimate interests". Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly—apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this Assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge subcontinent except those matters which may be germane to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safe-

guards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this contribution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. In other words, this proposal comes to this: First give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back! Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Mussalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer: the Hindu majority would do it—and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or Mr. Gandhi's "ahinsa"? Can we trust them any more? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based affecting 90 million of Mussalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders—each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Raja Gopal Acharya, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorates. This is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress organisation (Laughter). Babu Rajendra Prasad on the other hand only a few days ago said, "Oh, what more do the Mussalmans want?" I will read to you his words. He says, referring to the minority question: "If Britain would

concede our right of self-determination surely all these differences would disappear". How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

But so long as Britain held power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution will be framed not by the Congress alone but by the representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representatives of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religious and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future constitution of India and not this or that party. What better guarantee can the minorities have? So, according to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, religious and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March, 1940. And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says :

"To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike, I cannot be frivolous"—but I think he is frivolous—"I cannot be frivolous while I talk of Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother".

The only difference is this, that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote! (Laughter).

"I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket". I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his.

"There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so today."

Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims today? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen?

"I do not read all that appears in the Urdu press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without a Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj."

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

"You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight? I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly".

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which, the Muslims say, we cannot accept, which the Muslims say, means three to one, about which the Mussalmans say that they will never be able, in that way, by the counting of heads, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends and, therefore, this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections.

But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Mussalmans at all.

He says, "I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly"—mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes"—he is first facing us to come to that Assembly—and then says, "declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Koran and I have also studied something of that Holy Book". (Laughter).

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Mussalmans and if they do not agree then he will give up all hope, but even then he will agree with us! (Laughter). Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is

this the way to show any real, genuine desire, if there existed any, to come to a settlement with the Mussalmans? (Voices of no, no). Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree, and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, "I am a Hindu. Congress has solid Hindu backing?" I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Mussalman. (Hear, hear and applause.) I am right and I hope and believe even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has solid backing of the Mussalmans of India. (Hear, hear.) Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Mussalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Mussalmans agree or they do not agree? (Hear, hear). Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Mussalmans? (Hear, hear and applause). This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points, at any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of the future constitution of India should be examined 'de novo', apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was—I had better quote that—I will not put it in my own words. This is the reply that was sent to us on 23rd December.

"My answer to your question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude—mark the words 'does not exclude'—examination of any part either of the Act of

1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based". (Hear, hear).

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are: (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent, (Hear hear and applause) and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back (hear, hear) unless our approval and consent is given to it. We and we alone wish to be the final arbitrator. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Mussalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Mussalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not, after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Mussalmans of India will resist (Hear, hear and applause). And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that "endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs". Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours (Laughter). We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine (hear, hear).

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops outside. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never in anyway intended, and in fact, language does not justify if there is any misapprehension, or apprehension, that the Indian troops

should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted of the British Government was to give us assurance that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim Power (Hear, hear). Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is where we stand after the War and up to the 3rd of February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future constitution, and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, you are in minority after all, what do you want?" "What else do the minorities want?" Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Mussalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India, we occupy large parts of this country where the Mussalmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N-W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Mussalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C. R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 14 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhite said. But before I read this letter it is plain from that that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are Hindu! (Laughter). The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-cooperation movements, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

"You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlu. There is no finer Mohammedan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader override the Koran? I can only hope that my reading of the Islamic law is incorrect".

I think his reading is quite correct. (Laughter)

"And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so but if it is right then it comes to this, although we can unite against the British we cannot do so to rule

Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines".

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so, viz., to rule Hindustan on democratic lines. With s the remedy? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further.

"What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Mussalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible." (Laughter)

"I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Koran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty".

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nutured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British,

has led them into a serious blunder, in producing the constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in the pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the 'London Times' commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote. 'Undoubtedly the differences between the Hindus and Muslims are not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said, indeed, to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time, the superstition will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation'. So, according to the 'London Times', the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, social and political, have been euphemised as mere 'superstition.' But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society vis-a-vis that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere 'superstition'. Nothwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities, which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statute.

What the unitary Government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal Government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a Government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the subcontinent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth

is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussalmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'. There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with agreements between Muslim India and Hindu, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religious in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspect on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a nume-

rical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during the ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-

violently blow for blow, and if they could not, they must emigrate.

Mussalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even today, according to the British map of India, 4 out of 11 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, economic, social and political life in a way what we think best and in consonance with our own ideal and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have been saying and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League office. It might give you a clear idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies on us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell

you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Muslims all over India. I think that the masses are wide-awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody (cheers).

1940

111. A brief summary of speeches delivered on 22nd, 23rd and 24th March, 1940, at Lahore, on the Pakistan Resolution, as published in a pamphlet issued by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, as Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League:

(1) The Hon. Moulvi Fazlul Haque, the Premier of Bengal, while moving the resolution said that they had stated definitely and in unequivocal terms that what they wanted was not merely tinkering with the idea of federation, but its thorough overhaul so that federation might ultimately go. The idea of federation must not only be postponed, but abandoned.

On many an occasion on the platform of the Muslim League and the other day in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, he had made an emphatic and definite assertion that the Muslims of India would not consent to any scheme which was framed without their approval. To them only that constitution would be acceptable as was framed from the Muslim point of view.

If any constitution was forced on them, they would make such a constitution absolutely unworkable. He hoped that those who had in their power to shape the future constitution of India would take the Muslim feelings into consideration and would not take any step which might be regretted.

The Muslims, he said, had made their position absolutely clear. At present they constituted 80 millions scattered all over India. It might sound a big number, but as a matter of fact the Muslims were in a weak position numerically in almost every province of India.

In the Punjab and Bengal they were in a majority, but not in an effective majority, and were hopelessly in minority elsewhere.

The position was such that whatever might be the constitution Muslim interests were bound to suffer just as they had suffered during the last three years of the working of provincial autonomy.

Continuing, Moulvi Fazlul Haque referred to the Presidential Address of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at the All-India Congress session and characterised as un-Islamic the statement of the Maulana that the Muslims should not feel nervous; eighty millions was not a small number and they need not be afraid.

He reminded the Maulana that even in the Punjab and Bengal the position of Muslims was not safe. Situated as they were, their political enemies could take advantage of the situation. They had to seek the help of other interests and minorities to form coalition governments which were the weakest form of Government known to constitutionalists.

As regards other provinces, they were in a very weak position and were at the mercy of the majority.

Until a satisfactory solution was found of this unequal distribution of the Muslim population it was useless to talk of constitutional advance or of safeguards, as they were illusory.

He appealed to the Muslims throughout India to remain united and remember that they had to stand on their own feet and could not look to any one for help or even guidance.

(2) Choudhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb, M.L.A. Leader of the Opposition Party in the U.P. Legislative Assembly, seconded the resolution and said that they should consider the circumstance which had forced the Muslims to demand separation.

Firstly, the responsibility for this demand rested on the British Government, "who in order to exploit the Indians declared that India was one nation and started the majority and minority question. They opened a flood of such stupendous propaganda that the question came to be regarded as a real problem where in fact it did not exist".

Secondly, the Congress and the majority community were responsible for the separation demand. The working of the provincial autonomy in the Congress provinces had finally decided the question. The treatment the minorities received required no comment.

The Muslims had now realised that their existence was in danger and, if they wanted to maintain their identity, they must struggle for it.

Thirdly, the demand for separation was a result of the activities of those Muslims who tried to split the ranks of the Muslims by setting up rival organisations or joining the Congress or other non-Muslim political parties.

Maulana Azad, he continued, had said that Muslims should not demand separation because they were strong enough to defend themselves. But, remarked Choudhari Saheb, if the issue between the Hindus and Muslims was to be decided by means of the sword, the Muslims had no fear. They did not need 9 crores to settle it. As it was, the issue depended on votes.

Continuing, Choudhari Saheb said that a true Muslim Leaguer was the friend of the Congress because he informed them of the true Muslim sentiments. If the Congress continued

to act on the advice of Muslim Congressmen, he was sure there would be civil war in India.

He said that Muslims in the minority provinces should not be afraid as to what would happen to them after the partition of India into "Hindu India" and "Muslim India". The same thing would happen to them as to the minorities in the Punjab and Bengal.

Further, he said when the Congress demanded independence from the British, the door was always open, but when they were asking for independence, the door was supposed to be banged. They had been accused of always acting on a negative policy and had never presented constructive proposals and he hoped that they would be considered favourably.

(3) Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Central), supporting the resolution, said that the Congress had achieved the high position it occupied due to the support of the Muslims, but now the Congress had adopted an indifferent attitude towards the Muslims. The Congress or the Hindus had risen to the position by the ladder provided by Muslims and now they had kicked the ladder away.

He then reiterated his own proposal of a Constituent Assembly, consisting of 650 representatives—360 Muslims, 300 Hindus and 50 minorities—for deciding a constitution for India.

(4) Khan Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M.L.A., leader of the Muslim League Party in N.W.F.P. Legislative Assembly congratulated Muslims living in "Hindu" provinces for lending their support to the resolution which sought freedom for six crore Muslims. He assured the Muslims in minority provinces that they would lay down their lives to safeguard them.

He added that the British system of democracy, based on counting of heads, was unacceptable. They wanted a home for the Muslim nation.

(5) Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A. (Central), supported the resolution and assured the Muslims in the minority provinces that, if they were oppressed, it would be the duty of the Muslims "to do for them what the Germans did for Sudetenland".

(6) Khan Bahadur Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, M.L.C. (Behar), rose to support the resolution and expressed that the Muslims in the provinces where they were in minority had agreed to support the resolution before them. They fully realised the implications of the resolution and they had given their support with the fullest sense of responsibility. Concluding he said that they would employ all constitutional means to achieve the rights of Muslims but if those methods failed they knew very well what to do next.

(7) Qazi Mohammad Isa, President of the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League, supported the resolution. While thanking the Muslims of the minority provinces for the generous manner in which they had supported the resolution he assured complete and full support to Muslims in the minority provinces. He declared amidst cheers that the Hindus in the Muslim majority provinces would be given a similar treatment which they in their majority provinces would accord to the Mussalmans.

(8) Abdul Hameed Khan Saheb, M.L.A., leader of the Muslim League Party in the Madras Legislative Assembly, said that the Muslim League was at present busy preparing to achieve independence for all. The Muslims who had never been slaves anywhere excepting in India during the last 150 years could not tolerate perpetual subjection to a Hindu majority. To remain in subjection was against their religion.

(9) Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, M.L.A., Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, supporting the resolution characterised Congress opposition to Federation as false and unreal. Congress really wanted a Federation under which they could foist their rule on the Muslims

and "kill" their culture and civilisation. The scheme of division into regional zones was the only practical scheme and solution of the problem.

Muslim independent States, he added, would have a salutary effect on the Hindu majority provinces.

(10) Syed Abdul Rauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A., leader of the Muslim League Party in the C.P. and Berar Legislative Assembly referred to what he called "oppression and atrocities" being committed in his province. Yet in spite of all that had happened, they had remained undaunted. He asked the Muslims in the majority provinces not to bother about those in the minority provinces because they had faith in their God and he knew that by His Grace they would be able to defend themselves and their rights without depending on any support from outside.

(11) Dr. Mohammad Alam, M.L.A., Punjab, who was once a member of the Congress Working Committee and a member of the Punjab Congress Assembly Party till only 20 days back, appeared on the platform amidst cheers and shouts of Allah-ho-Akbar.

Dr. Mohammad Alam who denied the charge of being a "turn-coat" said that if Muslims, from the late Maulana Mohammad Ali right down to a humbler person like him, had to take up the attitude which they did it was the sheer result of their realisation that Congress had given up its ideal. "I have left the Congress, because it has left the right path and renounced its ideal. I have come to realise that the Congress independence means establishment of Hindu raj under British patronage. I am not now with the Congress because it was not its name of which I or others were enamoured. I, like others, was enamoured of independence—independence for all alike and that is for what the Congress does not stand now.

Dr. Alam declared that he had now accepted Mr. M. A. Jinnah as his Sirdar.

He paid tribute to his new leader whom he had known for a long time. Some newspapers had described Mr. M. A. Jinnah as a "political fanatic". Dr. Alam wished that they had two such fanatics. One to fight the Hindus and the other to fight the British. Dr. Alam said that before joining the League he asked Mr. Jinnah, what he, who had never believed in direct action, would do for the fulfilment of his programme and for the achievement of his ideal. Mr. Jinnah told Dr. Alam "If necessity arose I will give my life". When Dr. Alam enquired if he (Mr. Jinnah) would go to jail the reply given to Dr. Alam was "Before you and you will follow me". This made Dr. Alam, who had understood the League programme, to accept Mr. Jinnah as his leader.

Dr. Alam ridiculed the "blank cheque" presented by Mr. Gandhi because he said that cheque whatever its worth did not contain the name of the person to whom it was to be paid nor did it carry the signatures of the person from whose account it could be drawn. He appealed to the Muslims to strengthen the League.

Referring to the resolution Dr. Alam said it meant "declaration of war against the British and against the Hindus". He, however, added that it was also a "message of peace to both". It was a declaration of war said Dr. Alam because they wanted to impress upon the British their determination to be free even if the Hindus lagged behind. It meant a declaration of war against the Hindus because they wanted to declare they were not going to remain under anyone and from now on they (Muslims) were a nation with one civilisation and one culture. Muslims now stood under one flag and if the British or the Hindus wanted to settle with the Muslims they should recognise the power of the League and accept it as the sole representative body of the Muslims.

He wanted to tell the Muslims in the minority provinces that from New Delhi to Iran it would be one independent Muslim kingdom and they need not fear anyone. He assured the Hindus also of fair treatment everywhere. Dr. Alam con-

tinuing his speech said that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had today taught them the last letter of the alphabet of which the a.b.c. was taught by Maulana Mohammad Ali.

Concluding, he said, "Arm him with a sword in the right hand and with a message of peace in the left and let him go from Lahore to achieve victory for you and pray that God may grant him success".

(12) Syed Zakir Ali Saheb (U.P.) supported the resolution and referred to the "atrocities" which were perpetrated upon them in the Congress governed provinces.

(13) Begum Saheba Maulana Mohammad Ali appealed to the Muslims to have patience and remain unperturbed specially under the present difficult circumstances when unity in their ranks was their greatest necessity. She was glad to be able to say that Muslim women had been given an opportunity to work in the political field. She felt inclined to say that men could not do anything without the help of women.

Concluding, she said, "We may be lesser in number but we are greater in strength and our spirits remain undeterred and Muslim women of India will fight shoulder to shoulder with their men for the achievement of the goal which has been laid down by this resolution".

(14) Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri, (U.P.), supported the resolution.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the League, put the resolution to vote which was declared carried unanimously amidst loud cheers.

1940

112. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 15th, 16 and 17th June 1940, at Bombay, expressing dissatisfaction at the statement of the Viceroy.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 19th of April 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, to the Press on the 27th of May 1940 :

"Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.

The Provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to cooperate with the British Government, pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for, and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.

But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is

up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—there are many ways of doing so—and, as confident friends, seek our wholehearted cooperation. And we shall not fail".

The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee therefore authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close cooperation is agreed upon on an All-India basis and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country the real purpose will not be served by the Mussalmans and others merely by joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions.

1940

113. Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, Bombay, 17th June 1940.

In view of the grave world situation and its possible repercussions on India when every community is organising its volunteer organisations for the protection of its life and property the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that the time has come when the Provincial Muslim League should exert every nerve to start, organise and strengthen the Muslim National Guard Corps and give them such training as it will enable them to discharge their duty of maintaining peace, tranquillity and order in the country worthy of the best traditions of Islam. The Committee earnestly appeals to the Muslims to join the National Guards in large numbers under the banner of the Muslim League and directs the Provincial Muslim League to submit monthly reports to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League regarding the progress made and the steps adopted for the training of the Muslim National Guards. It is also the considered opinion of the Committee that the members of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committees and the District Committees should offer themselves for training at least once a week, with a view to give impetus to enlistment.

It is proposed to consider further the details of the scheme, but in the meantime the Provincial Muslim League shall act in accordance with the following main principles :—

A. Aims and objects of the organisation :

1. To train and discipline Muslims in co-ordinate activity for social and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country.

B. 2. The organisation shall consist of officers and guardsmen who will be willing to undertake a definite liability and responsibility to fulfil the aims and objects of the organisation hereinbefore defined.

It shall be made up as follows:

(a) Active Corps members
(b) Reservist Corps members
(c) Juvenile Corps

3. Active Corps shall consist of men who are capable of taking part in all the activities of organisation.

4. Reservist Corps shall consist of men who due to age, occupation or physical disability are not able to serve on the Active Corps.

5. Juvenile Corps shall consist of boys under sixteen years of age.

6. The Muslim National Guards shall be organised under the authority, control and supervision of the Working Committee of each Provincial Muslim League subject to the final authority of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

7. The Working Committee of each province shall appoint properly qualified persons for the purpose of (a) organising the Corps (b) giving them training and (c) officering them.

8. A guardsman, on being declared eligible, shall sign the following pledge in duplicate on the prescribed form:

Pledge—I........son of........solemnly swear by Allah, and the Holy Quran, that I hereby of my free will surrender myself to the Muslim National Guards organisation. I shall unflinchingly obey my officers and shall remain faithful to the organisation and its aims and objects. So help me Allah. Amin!

Signature..........

9. The Headquarters of every Provincial organisation shall maintain a classified list of the vocation and profession of every guardsman under its command.

10. A guardsman shall not be a member of any other political organisation except the Muslim League, or of any volunteer corps.

11. It shall be impressed on all guardsmen that courtesy to all ranks and classes of society shall be observed.

12. Uniform :—1. Khaki coat or shirt, khaki trousers and khaki cap or turban.

Or 2. Grey coat or shirt, grey trousers and grey cap or turban.

Provided however that every Province will have the option to select either of the two colours but shall keep and maintain the same colour and uniform throughout that province.

1940

114. Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League adopted in Bombay in its meetings held from 31st August to 2nd September 1940.

The Working Committee place on record that some of the observations, made in the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy and also in the speech of the Secretary of State for India with regard to theory of unity of national life, which does not exist, are historically inaccurate and self-contradictory. Such observations are calculated to raise apprehensions in the minds of the Mussalmans of India. Therefore the Committee deem it necessary to reaffirm and make the position clear once more, that the Committee stand by the Lahore Resolution and the basic principles underlying the terms thereof, proposing the division of India and the creation of independent states in the North-West and Eastern Zones of India, where the Muslims are in a majority; and the Committee declare their determination, firm resolve and faith that the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult and complex problem of India's

future constitution and are glad to note that the vital importance and the true aspect of this question are being fully realised by the British Parliament, and that His Majesty's Government are now fully apprised and seized of the realities of the situation.

The Muslim League again makes its position clear that the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and will exercise their right to self-determination and that they alone are the final judges and arbitrators of their own future destiny.

CENSUS OF 1941

115 — Population of India by Communities

Communities	British India	Indian States and Agencies.	Total
1. Hindus	150,890,146	55,227,180	206,117,326
2. Muslims	79,398,503	12,659,593	92,058,096
3. *Scheduled Castes ...	39,920,807	8,892,373	48,813,180
4. Tribal	16,713,256	8,728,233	25,441,489
5. Sikhs	4,165,097	1,526,350	5,691,447
6. Christians—			
(i) Indian Christians ...	1,655,982	1,413,808	3,069,790
(ii) Anglo-Indians ...	113,936	26,486	140,422
(iii) Others	75,751	7,708	83,459
7. Jains	578,372	870,914	1,449,286
8. Buddhists	167,413	64,590	232,003
9. Parsees	101,968	12,922	114,890
10. Jews	19,327	3,153	22,480
11. Others	371,403	38,474	409,877
Total	294,171,961	89,471,784	383,643,745

*This is a statutory designation given to the untouchables by the Government of India Act, 1935.

Note : The figures for the Scheduled castes both for British India and the Indian States do not give the correct totals. The figures for Ajmer Merwara in British India and for Gwalior States are not included in the totals. The Census Reports for 1940 fail to give these figures.

116—Communal Distribution of Population by Minorities in the Provinces of British India

Province	Total Population	Muslims		Scheduled Castes		Indian Christians		Sikhs	
		Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
1. Ajmer-Merwara	583,693	89,899	15.4	Nil (?)		3,895	.8	867	.15
2. Andaman Nicobar	33,768	8,005	23.7	Nil		779	2.3	744	2.2
3. Assam	10,204,733	3,442,479	33.7	676,291	6.6	37,750	.4	3,464	.03
4. British Baluchistan	501,631	438,930	87.5	5,102	1.0	2,633	.5	11,918	2.3
5. Bengal	60,306,525	33,005,434	54.7	7,878,970	13.0	110,923	.2	16,281	.03
6. Bihar*	36,340,151	4,716,314	12.9	4,840,379	13.3	24,693	.07	13,213	,04
7. Bombay	20,849,840	1,920,368	9.2	1,855,148	8.9	338,812	1.6	8,011	.04
8. Central Province & Berar	16,813,584	783,697	7.4	3,051,413	18.1	48,260	.3	14,996	.09
9. Coorg	168,726	14,780	8.8	25,740	15.3	3,309	2.0	Nil	...
10. Delhi	917,939	304,971	33.2	121,693	13.3	10,494	1.1	16,157	1.8
11. Madras	49,341,810	3,896,452	7.9	8,068,492	16.4	2,001,082	4.06	418	.001
12. N.W.F.P.	3,038,067	2,788,797	91.8	Nil	..	5,426	.2	57,989	1.9
13. Orissa	8,728,544	146,301	1.7	1,238,171	14.2	26,584	.3	232	.003
14. Punjab	28,418.819	16,217,242	57.0	1,248,635	4.4	486,038	1.7	3,757,401	13.2
15. Panth Piploda	5,267	251	4.8	918	17.4	216	4.1	Nil	...
16. Sind	4,229,221	3,054,635	72.2	191,634	4.5	13,232	.3	31,011	.7
17. United Provinces	55,020,617	8,416,308	15.3	11,717,158	21.3	131,327	.2	232,445	.4
Total ...	29,55,02,935	7,93,44,863	26.9	409,19,744	13.9	32,45,453	1.0	41,55,147	1.0
*Bihar	28,823,802	4,168,470	14.4	3,919,619	13.6	12,651	.04	3,204	.01
Chota Nagpur	7,516,349	547,844	7.3	420,760	5.6	12,042	.2	10,009	.1
C. P.	13,208,718	448,528	3.4	2,359,836	17.9	42,135	.3	12,766	.1
Berar	3,604,866	335,169	9.3	691,577	19.2	6,125	.2	2,230	.05
Agra	40,906,147	6,231,062	15.2	8,018,803	19.6	120,549	.3	226,096	.5
Oudh	14,114,470	2,185,246	15.5	3,698,355	26.2	10,778	.08	6,349	.05

CENSUS 1941

117—Communal Distribution of Population in the Punjab by Districts

DISTRICT	Total Population	Muslims		Scheduled Castes		Indian Christians		Sikhs		Hindus	
		Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
1. Hissar	1,006,709	285,208	28.3	128,240	12.7	1,235	.1	60,731	6.0	524,602	52.1
2. Rohtak	956,399	166,569	17.4	135,103	14.1	1,026	.1	1,466	.2	645,371	57.5
3. Gurgaon	851,458	285,999	33.6	119,250	14.0	1,457	.2	637	.07	441,287	51.8
4. Karnal	994,575	307,346	30.6	136,713	13.7	1,223	.1	19,887	2.0	529,588	53.2
5. Ambala	847,745	268,999	31.7	124,006	14.6	4,892	.6	153,543	18.1	288,652	34.0
6. Simla	38,576	7,022	18.2	7,092	18.4	508	1.3	1,032	2.7	22,374	58.0
7. Kangra	899,377	43,249	4.8	121,622	13.5	590	0.7	4,809	.5	725,909	80.7
8. Hoshiyarpur	1,170,323	380,759	32.5	170,855	14.6	6,060	.5	198,194	16.9	413,837	35.4
9. Jullundar	1,127,190	509,804	45.2	154,431	13.7	5,971	.5	298,744	26.5	156,579	13.9
10. Ludhiana	818,615	302,482	36.9	68,469	8.4	1,632	.2	341,175	41.7	106,246	12.9
11. Ferozpore	1,423,076	641,448	45.1	73,504	5.1	11,031	.8	479,486	33.7	261,229	15.2
12, Lahore	1,695,375	1,027,772	60.6	32,735	1.9	67,686	4.0	310,648	18.3	252,004	14.9
13. Amritsar	1,413,876	657,695	46.5	22,750	1.6	25,330	1.8	510,845	36.1	194,727	13.8
14. Gurdaspur	1,153,511	589,923	51.1	45,839	4.0	40,262	4.4	221,251	19.2	244,935	21.2
15. Sialkot	1,190,497	739,218	62.1	65,354	5.5	73,846	6.2	139,409	11.7	165,965	13.9
16. Gujranwala	912,235	642,706	70.5	7,485	.8	60,380	6.6	99,139	10.9	100,630	14.0
17. Shaikhupura	852,508	542,344	63.6	22,438	2.6	59,985	7.0	160,706	18.9	66,744	7.8
18. Gujrat	1,104,952	945,609	85.6	4,621	.4	4,391	.4	70,233	6.3	80,022	7.2
19. Shahpur	998,921	835,918	83.7	9,693	1.0	12,690	1.3	48,046	4.8	92,479	9.2
20. Jhelum	629,658	563,033	89.4	771	.1	730	.1	24,680	3.9	40,117	6.4
21. Rawalpindi	785,231	628,193	80.0	4,233	.5	4,212	.5	64,127	8.2	78,245	10.0
22. Attock	675,875	611,128	90.4	1,015	.1	504	0.9	20,102	3.0	42,194	6.2
23. Mianwali	506,321	436,260	86.2	1,008	.2	324	0.6	6,865	1.3	61,806	12.2
24. Montgomery	1,329,103	918,564	69.1	43,456	3.2	24,101	1.9	175,064	13.2	167,510	12.6
25. Lyallpur	1,396,305	877,518	62.8	68,222	4.9	51,694	3.7	262,737	18.8	135,637	9.7
26. Jhang	821,631	678,736	82.6	1,943	.2	744	.1	12,238	1.5	127,946	15.6
27. Multan	1,484,333	1,157,911	78 0	24,530	1.7	13,270	.9	61,628	4.1	225,342	15.2
28. Muzzaffargarh	712,849	616,074	86.4	2,691	.4	218	0.3	5,882	.8	87,952	12.3
29. Der gazi Khan	581,350	512,678	88.1	1,059	.2	46	0.1	1,072	.2	66,348	11.4
30. Transfrontier Tract	40,246	40,084	99.6	Nil	...	Nil	..	2	...	160	.4
Total	28,418,820	16,217,242	57.1	1,592,320	5.6	486,038	1.7	3,757,401	13.2	6,301,737	22.2

CENSUS 1941

118—Communal Distribution of Population by Minorities in Indian States

	States and Agencies	Total Population	Muslims		Schedule Castes		Indian Christians		Sikhs	
			Population	Per-cen-tage	Population	Per-cen-tage	Population	Per-cen-tage	Population	Per-cen-tage
1.	Assam	725,655	31,662	4.4	265	0.04	25,913	3.6	381	.05
2.	Baluchistan	356,204	346,251	97.2	65	0.02	40	.01	126	.04
3.	Baroda	2,855,010	223,610	7.8	230,794	8.1	9,182	.3	566	.02
4.	Bengal	2,144,829	372,113	17.3	269,729	12 6	564	.03	28	.001
5.	Central India	7,506,427	439,850	5.9	1,027,009	13.7	7,582	.1	2,731	.04
6.	Chattisgarh	4,050,000	28,773	0.7	483,132	11.9	11,820	.3	507	.01
7.	Cochin	1,422,875	109,188	7.7	141,154	9.9	399,394	28.1	9	—
8.	Deccan (and Kolhapur)	2,785,428	182,036	6.5	306,898	11.0	17,236	.6	22	.100
9.	Gujrat	1,458,702	58,000	3.9	55,204	3.8	4,215	.3	182	.01
10.	Gwalior	4,006,159	240,903	6.0	—	—	1,352	.03	2,342	.06
11.	Hyderabad	16,338,534	2,097,475	12.8	2,928,048	17.9	215,989	1.3	5,330	.03
12.	Kashmir & Feudatories	4,021,616	3,073,540	76.4	113,464	2.8	3,079	.08	65,903	1.6
13.	Madras	498,754	30,263	6.0	83,734	16.8	20,806	4.2	5	—
14.	Mysore	7,329,140	485,230	6.6	1,405,067	19.2	98,580	1.3	269	.004
15.	N. W. F. P.	46,267	22,068	47.7	Nil	—	571	1.2	4,472	9.1
16.	Orissa	3,023,731	14,355	0.47	353,088	11.6	2,249	.07	151	.005
17.	Punjab	5,503,554	2,251,459	40.9	349,962	6.4	6,952	.1	1,342,685	24.4
18.	Punjab Hill	1,090,644	46,678	4.3	238,774	21.9	188	.02	17,739	1.6
19.	Rajputana	13,670,208	1,297,841	9.5	—	—	4,349	.03	81,896	.6
20.	Sikkim	121,520	83	0.07	76	.06	34	.03	1	—
21.	Travancore	6,970,018	434,150	7.2	395,952	6.5	1,958,491	32.3	31	—
22.	U. P.	928,470	273,625	29.5	152,927	16.5	1,281	.1	731	.08
23.	Western India	4,904,156	600,440	12.2	353,038	7.3	3,105	.06	239	.005
	Total	91,801,517	15,733,133	16.59	8,892,373	9.7	2,794,959	3.1	1,526,350	1.7

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119—Population of British India, and of States and Agencies, according to the Census of 1941.

INDIA : POPULATION, 1941

	Males	Females	Total
British India	153,045,000	142,782,000	295,809,000
States and Agencies	47,883,000	45,090,000	93,189,000
TOTAL	200,928,000	187,872,000	388,998,000

INDIA : PRINCIPAL COMMUNITIES

(all figures are given in thousands)

Province or State	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Scheduled Castes	Total Population
Madras	34.731	3,896	2,047	0.4	8,068	49,342
Bombay	14,700	1,920	375	8	1,855	20,850
Bengal	17,680	33,005	166	16	7,379	60,307
U. P.	34.095	8,416	160	232	11.717	55,021
Punjab	6,302	16.217	505	3,757	1.249	28,419
Bihar	22,174	4716	35	13	4,340	36,340
C. P.	9,881	784	59	15	3,051	16,814
Assam	3,537	3,442	41	3	676	10,205
N.W.F.P.	180	2,789	11	58	—	3,038
Orissa	5,595	146	28	0.2	1,238	8,729
Sind	1,038	3,208	20	31	192	4,535
Total, Birtish India	150,890	79,399	3,482	4,165	39.921	295,809

INDIA : PRINCIPAL COMMUNITIES, 1941–*Contd.*

(all figures are given in thousands)

Province or State	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Scheduled Castes	Total Population
Hyderabad	10,382	2,097	220	5	2,928	16,339
Mysore (a)	5,282	485	113	0.3	1,405	7,329
Travancore (a)	3,146	434	1,960	—	396	6,070
Kashmir (a)	694	3,074	4	66	113	4,022
Gwalior (a)	3,463	241	2	2	—	4,006
Baroda (a)	1,963	224	9	0.6	231	2,855
Total, States & Agencies	55,227	12,560	2,834	1,526	8,892	93,189
Total India	206,117	12,058 (c)	6,317 (d)	5,691	48,813	388,998

(a) The six States that appear here are those with largest population.

(b) Including feudatories.

(c) The total population of India recorded by communities at the Census of 1941 was 386,667,000. The remainder, 2,331,000 consists of persons in the North-West Agency and tribal areas beyond the administered border, whose community could not be ascertained. The conditions of the region, however, indicate that they may be regarded as Muslims. If they are counted as Muslims, the total number of Muslims in India becomes 94,389,000.

(d) The figures for Christians given in the Census overlap with those for Tribes. Allowing for this, the total number of Christians is estimated at 7,250,000.

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120—Population Statistics of Jammu and Kashmir State according to the Government of India Census Report of 1941

Distric or Province	Area Sq. Milles	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total Population
1. JAMMU PROVINCE	12,378	1,215,676	765,757	1,981,433
(a) Jammu District	1,147	170,789	260,573	431,362
(b) Kathua District	1,023	45,214	132,458	177,672
(c) Udhampur District	5,070	128,327	165,890	294,217
(d) Reasi Distric	1,789	175,539	82,364	257,903
(e) Mirpur District	1,627	310,880	75,775	386,655
(f) Chenani Jagir	95	2,205	9,591	11,796
(g) Poonch Jagir	1,627	382,722	39,106	421,828
2. KASHMIR PROVINCE	8,539	1,615,478	113,227	1,728,705
(a) Baramula District	3,317	590,936	21,492	612,428
(b) Anantnag District	2,814	778,684	72,922	851,606
(c) Muzaffarabad District	2,408	245,858	18,813	264,671
3. FRONTIER DISTRICT	63,554	270,093	41,385	311,478
(a) Ladakh District	45,762	154,492	40,939	195,431
(b) Astore District	1,632	16,878	148	17,026
(c) Gilgit (leased Area)	1,480	22,296	199	22,495
(d) Gilgit Agency	14,680	76,427	99	76,526
	84,471	3,101,247	920,369	4,021,616

In 1941, Muslims constituted 77.11 per cent of the total population of Jammu and Kashmir, Hindus were 20.12 per cent, Sikhs 1.64 per cent. Buddhists 1.01 per cent, and others 0.12 per cent.

1941 121—Communal Distribution of Population in Bengal Districts

DISTRICTS	Total Population	Muslims		Scheduled Castes		Hindus		Indian Christians	
		Population	Per-centage	Population	Per-centage	Population	Per-centage	Population	Per-centage
1. Burdwan	1,890,732	336,665	17.8	430,300	22.8	963,520	51.0	3,280	.2
2. Birbhum	1,048,317	287,310	27.4	280,254	26.7	406,182	58.8	344	.03
3. Bankura	1,289,640	55,564	4.3	355,290	27.6	723,269	56.1	1,216	.1
4. Midnapore	3,190,647	246,559	7.7	339,066	10.6	2,342,897	73.4	3,834	.1
5. Hooghly	1,377,729	207,077	15.0	245,810	17.8	853,734	61.9	543	.04
6. Howrah	1,490,304	296,325	19.9	184,318	12.4	1,000,548	67.1	994	.06
7. 24 Parganas	3,536,386	1,148,180	32:5	743,397	21.0	1,566,599	44.3	20,823	.6
8. Calcutta	2,108,891	497,535	23.6	55,228	2.6	1,476,284	70.0	16,431	.8
9. Nadia	1,759,846	1,078,007	61.3	143,682	8.2	514,268	29.2	10,749	.6
10. Murshidabad	1,640,530	927,747	56.6	167,184	10.2	517,803	31.6	394	.02
11. Khulna	1,943,218	959,172	49.4	470,550	24.2	507,143	26.1	3,538	.2
12. Rajshahi	1,571,750	1,173,285	74.6	75,650	4.8	253,580	16.1	1,166	.07
13. Dinajpur	1,926.833	967,246	50.2	399,410	20.7	375,212	19.5	1,448	.07
14. Jalpaiguri	1,089,513	251,460	23.1	325,504	29.9	226,143	20.8	2,589	.2
15. Darjeeling	376,369	9,125	2.4	28,922	7.7	149,574	39.7	2,599	.7
16. Rangpur	2,877,847	2,055,186	71.4	495,462	17.2	307,387	10.7	389	.01
17. Bogra	1,260,463	1,057,902	83.9	61,303	4.9	126,229	10.0	286	.02
18. Pabna	1,705,072	1,313,968	77.1	114,738	6.7	269,017	15.8	285	.02
19. Malda	1,232,618	699,945	56.1	75,535	6.1	390,143	31.6	466	.04
20. Dacca	4,222,143	2,841,261	67.3	409,905	9.7	950,227	22.5	15,846	.4
21. Mymensing	6,023,758	4,664,548	77.4	340,676	5.7	955,962	15.9	2,322	.04
22. Faridpur	2,888,803	1,871,336	64.4	527,496	18.3	478,742	16.6	9,549	.3
23. Bakarganj	3.549,010	2,567,027	72.3	427,667	12.1	480,962	13.6	9,357	.2
24. Tippera	3,860,139	2,975,901	77.1	227,643	5.9	652,318	16.9	428	.01
25. Naokhali	2,217,402	1,803,937	81.3	81,817	3.7	330,494	14.9	535	.02
26. Chittagong	2,153,296	1,605,183	74.5	57,024	2.6	401,050	18.6	395	.02
27. Chittagong Hill Tracts	247,053	7,270	2.9	283	.1	4,598	1.9	60	.02
28. Jessore	1,828,216	1,107,713	60.2	314,856	17.2	406,223	22.2	1,057	.06
TOTAL	60,306,525	33,005,434	54.7	7,378,970	12.2	17,630,054	29.3	110,923	.2

CENSUS OF 1941
SIND
122—Distribution of Muslim Population by Districts

DISTRICTS	Total Population	Total Muslim Population	P. C. of Muslims to Total	Total Non-Muslims	P.C. of Non-Muslims to Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Dadu	389,380	329,991	84.7	59,389	15.3
2. Hyderabad	758,748	507,620	66.9	251,128	33.1
3. Karachi	713,900	457,035	64.0	256,865	36.0
4. Larkana	511,208	418,543	81.9	92,665	18.1
5. Nawabshah	584,178	436,414	74.7	147,764	25.3
6. Sukkur	692,556	491,634	71.0	200,922	29.0
7. Thar Parkar	581,004	292,025	50.3	288,979	49.7
8. Upper Sind Frontier	304,034	275,063	90.5	28,971	9.5
TOTAL	45,35.008	32,08,325	70.7	13,26,683	29.3

This is exclusive of the population of Khairpur State.

SIND 1941

123—Proportion of Muslim to non-Muslim Population in Towns: M—Municipality; Cl.-C—Civil Cantoment; Mily. C—Military Cantonment

Towns by Districts 1		Total Population 2	Tolal Muslim Population 3	Percentage of Muslims to Total 4	Total Non-Muslim Population 5	Percentage of Non-Muslims to Total 6
DADU						
1. Dadu	M	10,996	5,279	48	5,717	52.0
2. Kotri	M	9,979	5,137	51.5	4,842	48.5
3. Manjhand	M	3,025	1,053	34.8	1,972	65.2
4. Sehwan	M	4,364	2,218	50.8	2,146	49.2
HYDERABAD						
5. Hala	M	7,960	5,042	63.3	2,918	36.7
6. Hyderabad	M	1,27,521	31,983	25.1	95,538	74.9
7. Hyderabad	Cl. C	5,255	2,667	50.7	2,588	49.3
8. Hyderabad	Mly. C	1,917	1,419	74	498	26.0
9. Matiari	M	5,910	4,339	73.4	1,571	26.6
10. Nasarpur	M	3,810	2,331	61.2	1,479	38.8
11. Tando Allahyar	M	8,406	1,690	20.1	6,716	79.9
12. Tando Mohamed Khan	M	8,718	2,902	33.3	5,816	66.7
KARACHI		3,58,492	1,52,365	42.5	2,06,127	57.5
13. Karachi	M	5,854	895	15.3	4,959	84.7
14. Karachi	Cl. C.	2,881	1,172	40.7	1,709	59.3
15. Drigh Road	Cl. C.	2,533	932	36.8	1,601	63.2
16. Manora	Cl. C.	15,895	7,063	44.4	8,832	55.6
17. Karachi	Mily C.	8,262	4,198	50.8	4,064	49.2
18. Tatta	M					

LARKANA						
19. Kambar	M	11,681	6,297	53.1	5,384	46.9
20. Larkana	M	20,390	7,834	38.4	12,556	61.6
21. Ratodero	M	9,925	2,393	24.1	7,532	75.9
NAWABSHAH						
22. Nawabshah	M	17,509	4,420	25.3	13,089	74.7
23. Shahdadpur	M	11,786	1,898	16.1	9,888	83.9
24. Tando Adam	M	17,233	2,994	17.4	14,239	82.6
SUKKUR						
25. Ghari Yasin	M	8,397	2,895	34.5	5,502	65.5
26. Ghotki	M	5,236	1,533	39.3	3,703	70.7
27. Rohri	M	14,721	4,132	28.7	10,589	71.9
28. Shikarpur	M	67,746	21,775	32.1	45,971	67.9
29. Sukkur	M	66,646	18,152	27.3	48,314	72.7
THARPARKAR						
30. Mirpurkhas	M	19,591	5,086	25.9	14,505	74.1
31. Umarkot	M	4 275	986	22.9	3,289	77.1
UPPER SIND FRONTIER						
32. Jacobabad	M	21,588	9,774	45.3	11,814	54.7

CENSUS OF 1941

N. W. F. PROVINCE

124—Proportion of Muslim Population by Districts

Districts	Total Population	Total Muslim Population.	P.C. of Muslim Population to Total	Total Non-Muslim Population.	P.C. of. Non-Muslim to Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
Hazara	796,230	756,004	94.9	40,226	5.1
Mardan	506,539	483,575	96.5	22,964	4.5
Peshawar	851,833	769,589	90.4	82,244	9.6
Kohat	289,404	266,244	92.0	23,180	8.0
Bannu	295,930	257,648	87.1	38,282	12.9
D. I. Khan	298,131	255,757	85.8	42,374	14.2

1941

N. W. F. Province

125—Proportion of Muslim to Non-Muslim Population in Towns.

C—Cantonment; M—Municipality; N. A.—Notified Area

Towns by Districts	Total Population	Total Muslim Population	Percentage of Muslims to Total	Total Non-Muslim Population	Percentage of Non-Muslim to Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
HAZARA					
1. Abbottabad C	13,866	3,331	24	10,535	7.6
2. Abbottabad M	13,558	8,861	66.1	4,697	33.9
3. Haripur M	9,322	5,174	55.5	4,148	44.5
4. Baffa M	7,988	7,166	89.7	822	10.3
5. Nawanshehr N.A.	6,414	5,075	79.1	1,339	20.9
6. Kot Najibullah N.A.	5,315	4,228	79.5	1,087	20.5
7. Mansehra	10,217	8,141	79.7	2,076	20.3
MARDAN					
8. Mardan M	39,200	28,994	73.9	10,206	26.1
9. Mardan C	3,294	1,307	39.7	1,987	60.3
PESHAWAR					20.1
10. Peshawar M	1,30,967	1,04,650	79.9	26,317	56.8
11. Peshawar C	42,453	18,322	43.2	24,131	3
12. Nowshera N.A.	17,491	16,976	97	515	57.6
13. Nowshera C	26,531	11,256	42.4	15,275	61.1
14. Risalpur C	9,009	3,506	38.9	5,503	7.1
15. Cherat C	337	270	80.1	67	19.9
16. Charsadda	16,954	15,747	92.9	1,198	3.6
17. Utamanzai	10,129	9,768	96.4	361	3.5
18. Tangi	12,906	12,456	96.5	450	..
19. Parang	13,494	13,494	99.9	2	

(Continued overleaf)

1	2	3	4	5	6
KOHAT					
20. Kohat ... M	34,316	27,868	81.2	6,448	18.8
21. Kohat ... C	10,661	4,243	39.8	6,418	60.2
BANNU					
22. Bannu ... M	33,210	8,507	25.6	24,703	74.4
23. Bannu ... C	5,294	2,189	41.4	3,105	58.6
24. Lakki ... N.A.	10,141	5,888	58	4,258	42
DERA ISMAIL KHAN					
25. D. I. Khan ... M	42,238	25,443	51.7	23,795	48.3
26. D. I Khan ... C	2,068	981	47.4	1,087	52.6
27. Kulachi ... N.A.	8,840	6,610	74.8	2,230	25.2
28. Tank ... N.A.	9,089	5,531	60.8	3,558	39.2

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126.—Communal Distribution of Population in Assam by Districts

Districts	Totai Popula-tion	Muslims		Scheduled Castes		Indian Christians		Sikhs		Hindus	
		Population	P.C	Population	P C.	Population	P.C.	Population	P.C.	Population	P.C.
SURMA VALLEY :											
1. Kachahar	641.181	232,950	36.3	51,961	8.1	3,744	.06	...	...	173,855	27.1
2. Sylhet	3,116,602	1,892,177	60.7	364,510	11.7	2,590	.08	...	...	785,004	25.2
3. Khasi and Jantia Hills	118,665	1,555	1.3	63	.05	120	.01	...	...	12,676	10.7
4. Naga Hills	118,641	531	.2	45	.02	9	...	...	...	4,153	2.2
5. Lushai Hills	152,786	101	.06	22	.01	Nil	...	...	...	2,425	1.6
ASSAM VALLEY								...	...	282,789	27.9
6. Goalpara	1,014,285	486,924	46.2	23,434	2.3	269	.03	...	...	637,457	50.4
7. Kamarup	1,264,200	367,522	39.1	59,092	4.7	1,038	.08	...	...	328,283	44.6
8. Darang	736,791	120.995	16.4	19,475	2.6	6,367					
9. Nowgong	710,800	250.113	35.2	59,214	8.3	4,049	.8	...	...	229,137	32.2
10. Sibsagar	1,074,741	51,769	4.8	50,184	4.7	15,268	.6	...	...	593,007	55.2
11. Lakmipur	894,842	44,579	5.0	43,527	4.9	3,786	1.4	...	...	457,509	51.1
12. Garo Hills	233,569	10,398	4.5	789	.3	1	4	...	...	13.518	5.8
13. Sadiya Frontier Tract	60,118	864	1.4	3,991	6.6	486	...	...	...	14,605	24.3
14. Balipara Frontier Tract	6,512	61	.9	74	1.1	23	.8	...	...	2,514	38.6
TOTAL :	10,204,733	3,422,479	33.7	676,291	6.6	37,350	4			3,536,932	34 6

1941

127. Letter written by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to Quaid-e-Azam from Allahabad, dated 6th February, 1941.

Since we met last in Bombay a few months ago I have several times thought of writing to you but I have never been able up to this moment to make up my mind. Even now when I have decided to write to you I am writing this letter with considerable hesitation as if I cannot make things better than they are at present. I certainly do not in all conscience want to make them worse. But I believe that since 1916 when we came together in the old Indian Legislative Council you have known my views on the Hindu-Muslim question, and I am, therefore, venturing to hope that you will not misunderstand my point of view.

Although I have not been taking active part in politics of the country for the last few years, the old interest still survives, and I followed fairly closely the trend of recent events. These have only tended to confirm me in my belief that supreme necessity of the hour is a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims or, to put it in terms of party politics, between the Congress and the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League. It is my misfortune that owing to some very strong convictions I have found it impossible to join either of the first two, and for obvious reasons I could not be a member of the organisation of which you are the President, and yet I feel that so long as the three big organised bodies of public opinion in India remain in their present state of relationship to each other the future of this country cannot by any means be bright.

It is not my purpose to discuss in this letter which of the three parties are to blame. I think that a discussion of this character can never lead to any good: indeed, I think instead of doing good it may do positive harm. You will remember that in August last when we met at Bombay I told you that if the Congress and the Hindu Sabha would not or were not pre-

pared to call a conference for the purpose of settling differences, there was no reason why you as the President of a great and influential League should not take the step forward. Since then I have been giving this matter my constant attention and at last I have made up my mind to make a personal appeal to you. I do not, however, pretend to sail under false colours. I represent neither the one party nor the other. I can neither offer nor accept terms. I can only appeal to you in my individual capacity—in the capacity of one who strongly and genuinely holds that the Muslims are an integral part of India and that their willing co-operation with other communities must necessarily condition the nature, extent and speed of the progress of the country.

I am deliberately avoiding all reference to the controversial issues that divide the one from the other, as it is not for me to settle them but for you and leaders of other parties who can influence opinion and speak for others to raise these issues and to come to a settlement in regard to them. As a realist, I feel that not only you but Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Hindu Sabha, particularly Mr. Savarkar, are the men on whom the primary responsibility for settlement of those issues lies.

Meeting Suggested

Neither speeches on public platforms nor statements and interviews given by leaders can really help the situation. I think conversations or, if I may use a hackneyed phrase, heart-to-heart conversations, may possibly lead to some satisfaction of knowing that everything has been done which could be done to bring about a better state of feeling and understanding. I am, therefore, venturing to suggest on my own account without committing any other party to my views or suggestions that (1) you should agree first to meet Mr. Gandhi and then the process of private talks could be extended to others; (2) if you and other leaders then think that it would serve the best interests of the country to invite a joint conference, then you all could take the necessary step. I can assure you of my personal support and co-operation in this matter.

If your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it on him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience. I hope very strongly that he will be quite willing to see you in Bombay or any other convenient place and discuss things with you. I think you two should meet first, for if the country is dear to him, I believe it is no less dear to you. You may be at present identified with the Muslim League; it may be a necessity of the situation that you should be leading the Muslim League. I still prefer to look upon you as I used to in the days gone by; when other people also looked to you for guidance and advocacy of the cause of India, irrespective of caste, colour and creed.

If you are willing to see Mr. Gandhi and to discuss things, I hope you will permit me to take him into confidence about what you write to me.

1941

128. The Quaid's reply dated Bombay, 10th February, 1941, to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th instant and thank you for it. I have given to it my closest attention and consideration, coming as it does from you.

The main purpose on which you concentrated is directed towards trying to induce me to agree to see Mr. Gandhi. I am sorry to find that you are under the impression that I am reluctant and opposed to seeing Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community. You proceed to say further: 'If your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it upon him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience.' Please remove this erroneous impression from your mind. I have always been ready and

willing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community and do all I can to help the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

League's Position

As regards other matters in your letter, I cannot do better than to send you a press cutting giving the full text of my speech that I made in the course of the debate in the Assembly on the Supplementary Finance Bill last November, as I fear that you attention, if at all, could have been drawn only to the summary that appeared in most of the papers at the time.

This will give you some idea of the position and the point of view of the Muslim League.

I thank you for your personal references to me which, I need not say, I appreciate very much.

1941

129. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 22nd February, 1941, at Delhi, disapproving the pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India.

The Working Committee view with disapproval the recent pronouncements of Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, which are likely to create grave apprehensions in the minds of the Mussalmans as they give an impression contrary to his previous pronouncements, that His Majesty's Government are still contemplating the possibility of a constitution based on the economic and political unity of India. The term "Indian", the Working Committee would like to point out, covers three times a greater range of peoples than the term "European" does. It is unfortunate that Mr. Amery, having regard to his responsibility as the Secretary of State for India, should have allowed himself to indulge in slogans such as

"India First". Mussalmans of India are proud to be Indians and firmly believe in India and Indians. It is in that spirit that the Lahore Resolution was adopted, because the Mussalmans are convinced that it is the only solution of India's constitutional problem which will ensure peace, harmony and satisfaction among all elements, interests and inhabitants of this vast sub-continent.

The Working Committee reaffirm adherence to the Resolution passed at the Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League laying down the basic principles on which the future constitution of India must be framed before it can be acceptable to the Mussalmans of India, viz., that geographically continugous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

1941

130. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 23rd February, 1941, at Delhi, condemning the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Congress.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that the Civil Disobedience movement started by the Congress is designed to bring pressure on the British Government to resile from the position it has taken in regard to the future constitution of India relating to the Muslims and other minorities and concede to the Congress demands, which are fundamentally opposed by Muslim India as they are detrimental to their vital interest.

Mr. Gandhi himself soon after the Viceroy's statement of November 5, 1939, wrote the following in the 'Harijan':

"So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League Civil resistance must involve resistance against the League."

The starting of civill resistance without an arrangement with the League under the cloak of fight for liberty of speech is only a crude method of getting over previous statements and confusing the issues. Only a few days back Mr. Gandhi is reported to have addressed the Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, in the following words:

"If the Hindu Mahasabha was so inclined, it could partake in the reorganisation of the Central Government, but the question of the Congress doing so would not arise so long as the Congress demand remained unconceded."

From the above it is clear that the Congress is fighting the British Government for the acceptance of its demands. The Council of the All-India Muslim League, therefore, have no doubt as to the real motive and object of Mr. Gandhi in launching and pursuing vigorously his movement of Satyagraha and draw the attention of the British Government that if any concession to the Congress is made which adversely affects or militates against the Muslim demands it will be resisted by the Muslim League with all the power it can command and the Muslim League desires to place it on record that if the situation demands it would not hesitate to intervene and play such part in the struggle as may be necessary for the protection of the rights and interests of the Mussalmans of this country.

1941

131. Resolution of the annual session of the League, Madras, 15th April, 1941.

Resolved that while appreciating the just attitude taken by H.E. the Governor of Ceylon, this annual session of the All-India Muslim League views with deep concern the antago-

nistic attitude of the Ceylon Ministry towards Indians in Ceylon and the steps that are being taken by it to press forward discriminatory legislation against Indians in Ceylon and urges on the Government of India the necessity of taking prompt action in the matter.

Proposed by—Abdul Hamid Saheb (Madras).

Seconded by—K. T. Ahmad Ibrahim Saheb. (Madras).

1941

132. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th April, 1941, at Madras, amending the aims and objects of the League.

Resolved that the following amendment be made in the aims and objects of the All-India Muslim League and for Section 2(a) of the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League the following be substituted :

(i) The establishment of completely Independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign ;

(ii) That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them ;

(iii) That in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;

Proposed by—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A., (Central)
Seconded by—Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait, M.L.A., (Central)
Supported by—Mr. B. Dawood Shah, (Madras)
" Kazi Mohamed Isa Saheb (Baluchistan)
" Nawab Sir Mohammad Yousuf, M.L.A., (U.P.)
" Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A., (Central)
" Begum Mohammad Ali Saheba, (Delhi)
" Maulana Ahmad Said Saheb, (Madras)
" Sir Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., (Central)
" Mr. Mohamed Usman, (Bengal).
" Maulana Abdul Wahab Saheb Bukhari (Madras).

1941

133. Correspondence between Quaid-e-Azam and Sir Abdoola Haroon, May 1941 :

Nandi Hill Station,
Banglore,
13th May, 1941.

Dear Sir Abdoola Haroon,

I have received your two letters of the 3rd May. Yes, it is very sad some of our Leaguers are easily moved and make ill-considered and irresponsible utterances and sometimes they

are influenced by their immediate personal considerations. That should not dishearten us and specially a veteran like yourself.

I am very glad that Syed and others with your full support and cooperation are carrying on work of organising the Mussalmans of Sind.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
21st January, 1942.

Dear Sir Abdullah,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th along with a copy of the memorandum submitted by you to His Excellency the Viceroy and I shall await the results.

Of course I have been watching the developments in Sind with very keen interest.

As regards my programme I can only tell you tentatively that I hope to be in Delhi in the first week of February and I have also accepted an engagement in Bengal to preside over the Conference of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League at Sirajganj on the 14th and 15th of February.

I fully realise that the situation in Sind is very appalling and unbearable, but the only course open to us is to organise our people as a disciplined nation and the other things must follow. It requires time and patience and strenuous and constant efforts. I feel confident that we shall come out successful in the end.

Hoping you are well, with kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

2nd February, 1941

Dear Sir Abdoola,

Conflicting reports are appearing in the newspapers and I cannot understand the situation in Sind regarding the Ministry, I also had a talk with Mr. Yusuf and I hope that you will all stand together and abide by the understanding that was arrived at in Karachi. (1) With regard to Mir Bande Ali's resignation I have not been able to ascertain what the agreement was. I understand from Mir Bande Ali that he was not bound to resign on the 15th of February, as he has not committed himself to do so.

If that is correct, in that case no question arises of anyone of the members of the Muslim League in the Ministry resigning and the present Ministry must continue and if the Congress or Hindus wish to break the Ministry in order to get their man in, we must face the consequences, and let them break it. It will be far more honourable to sit on the opposition benches than to be dictated to by a few individuals.

(2) If Mir Bande Ali is bound to resign then Khuro and Shaikh Abdul Majid should also resign and if they cannot form the Ministry without Mir Bande Ali, as what the Muslim League considers proper then let others form the Ministry and we shall, as honourable men, occupy the opposition benches.

If anyone merely for the sake of keeping his ministership tries to come to some other arrangement, the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League should declare publicly that he does not represent the Muslim League and disciplinary action must be taken against him, for having acted in his individual capacity over the head of the Muslim League.

Please be firm and I am confident that the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League will stand by it. Also please let me know as soon as possible, the correct position. I had fully discussed the matter with

Shaikh Abdul Majid when he was in Bombay recently and he had agreed that this is the only honourable course for us to adopt.

Hoping you are well, with kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1941

134. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 24th, 25th and 26th August, 1941, at Bombay, condemning the military occupation of Muslim States in the Near East.

The Mussalmans of India are greatly perturbed at, and view with alarm, the military occupation of certain Muslim States in the Near East by Great Britain and her allies. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, therefore, urge upon the British Government and her allies to declare unequivocally that the sovereignty and independence of those Muslim States will be immediately restored as soon as circumstances permit and that the pernicious system of mandates and the creation of zones of influence for European powers over these countries will not be resorted to.

1941

135. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th April, 1941, at Madras, condemning the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Congress.

This session of the All-India Muslim League is definitely of opinion that the present Civil Disobedience Movement started by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, ostensibly for freedom of speech, is really meant to coerce the British

Government to concede the Congress demands regarding the future Constitution of India, which are really and virtually for a transfer of sovereign powers to the Hindus and thus relegate the Muslim nation of 100 millions and the Indian minorities to the status of mere subjects of Hindu Raj throughout the country.

It, therefore, draws the attention of the British Government that if any constitutional change, either interim or final, is made wihout the approval of the Muslim League, it would constitute a flagrant breach of faith on the part of the British Government with the Mussalmans of India, and would be contrary to the solemn declarations and promises that have already been made to the Mussalmans of India by the recent pronouncements of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government ending with the declaration of 8th August, 1940 and the amplification of it by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, on the 14th of August, 1940; and warns the British Government that if any attempt is made to depart from or modify in any way the above mentioned declarations and pledges, the Mussalmans would be forced to resort to every measure and method to resist it with all the power they can command.

Proposed by—Ismail Chundrigar Saheb, M.L.A. (Bombay)
Seconded by—Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (N.W.F.P.)
" Nawab Md. Ismail Saheb, M.C.S., (Behar)
" Sheikh Abdul Majid Saheb, M.L.A. (Sind)
" Syed Mohamed Saheb, (Madras).

1941

136. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th August, 1941, at Bombay, protesting against aggression against Iran by Britain and Russia.

The Working Committee have learnt with dismay the news of the unprovoked aggression against Iran by Great Britain and Russia, contrary to all the declarations of the British Government to respect the neutrality and sovereignty of non-combatant states to uphold which the British Government and her allies are fighting Nazism, and in violation of the fundamental principles of International Law; and warn the Government that this action of the allies will still more complicate the Near East situation and alienate the sympathies of Muslim India and create bitterness in their hearts, which will result in the withdrawal of every help by them to the allied cause.

1941

137. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th April, 1941, at Madras, appointing a committee to draw up a Five-Year Plan for the Muslims of India.

Resolved that a committee with powers to co-opt consisting of the following members be appointed with a view to chalk out a Five-Year Plan for the educational, economic, social and political advancement of the Muslims :

1. Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad
2. Ch. Khaliquzzaman Saheb
3. Hasan Ispahani Saheb
4. Mr. Chundrigar
5. Dr. S. M. A. Jaffery
6. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad
7. Hon'ble Husain Imam
8. Sir Abdullah Haroon.

Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad will be the convener of the Committee. The Committee is directed to submit its report to the Working Committee within six months.

Proposed by—Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A. (C.P.)
Seconded by—Mufti Fakhrul Islam Saheb (U.P.)
Supported by—Noman Saheb Zuberi (U.P.)
" Begum Hafizuddin Saheba (Bombay)
" K. M. Sethi Saheb (Madras).

1941

138. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League adopted on 26th August, 1941, at Bombay, protesting against the Viceroy's attitude.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League deplore that His Excellency the Viceroy should have gone out of his way to canvass the members of the Muslim League for securing their association with the scheme of expansion of the Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council within the terms of the offer of the 8th of August, 1940, behind the back of the leader of the organisation, knowing full well the express decision of the Council of the League rejecting a scheme on similar lines by its resolution dated the 29th of September, 1940, which was duly communicated to him by the President.

Further the Committee condemn the observations of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made in the House of Commons in his speech on the 1st of August, 1941, to the effect that he was glad "to think that regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline, patriotic Indians have come forward to work for India's defence", thereby casting a serious reflection on the patriotism of those who do not approve the scheme, and lauding the conduct of those who have been deliberately and by various manoeuvres weaned to commit a breach of party discipline.

The Working Committee are of the considered opinion that the recent decision to resuscitate and impose upon India, the scheme of expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of a National Defence Council was under-

taken as a concession to the demands of the Hindus in utter disregard of the wishes of the Muslims of India and the solemn promises made to them and is intended to mislead public opinion in Great Britain and abroad.

1941

139. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th August, 1941, at Bombay, against the attitude of Amery, Secretary of State for India.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League are amazed and alarmed that Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India and a responsible Minister of the Crown should be permitted to make pronouncements which amount to a breach of faith to Muslim India and to resile from the declared policy of the British Government, viz., that the constitutional issue will in no way be prejudged by His Majesty's Government and the solution of the constitutional issue will be dependent upon agreement between the principal parties, as the following extracts fom his speeches and the announcement of the Viceroy dated the 8th of August, 1940, clearly disclose :

(1) **Viceroy's announcement dated the 8th of August 1940.**

"There are two main points which have emerged. On these two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

"The first is as to the position of minorities, in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part, either of the Act of 1935, or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

"His Majesty's Government's concern, that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision,

has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

"Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

"The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations, a new constitutional scheme, when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

"His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations, which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her, and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of the responsibility.

"Meanwhile they will welcome and promote, in any way possible, every sincere and practical step that may be taken, by representative Indians themselves, to reach a basis of friendly agreement firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take, secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself."

(2) **Mr. Amery's statement dated the 14th of August, 1940.**

"Agreement, consent is indeed the foundation of all free Governments, of all true democracy. Decision by a majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience which presupposes for its proper working an

antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has indeed in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any element but compromise, and willingness to compromise, in India as elsewhere, is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which free government must be based."

(3) **Mr. Amery's statement dated the 22nd of April, 1941.**

"It was suggested that the framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and indeed revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think, even yet been fully appreciated either in this country or in India.

"Even more important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself, and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is an essential prerequisite to the success of the future constitution. For if Indians cannot agree upon the kind of constitution they are prepared to work, how are they likely to agree upon the actual working of it?

"I have dwelt deliberately upon Indian responsibility in the matter; for unless Indians are prepared to face that responsibility now, they will fail to face it hereafter. Any agreement imposed by us from without cannot survive the withdrawal of our power to enforce it. Only a real agreement, freely reached, can stand that test."

The Working Committee strongly condemn the adverse criticism and remarks of Mr. Amery in his recent speech in the

House of Commons with regard to the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, without examining the scheme embodied therein and the circumstances which have driven the Muslims to demand the partition of India into zones predominantly Muslim.

The Working Committee calls upon His Majesty's Government to reassure the Muslims of India that His Majesty's Government will stand by their declarations and pledges solemnly given by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

If this assurance, reaffirming the declaration, which has been shaken by the recent ill-advised utterances of the Secretary of State for India, practically prejudging and condemning the Muslim League scheme of partitioning India, is not forthcoming within a reasonable time, the Muslim League will be compelled to revise, of necessity, their policy and adopt such measures as they may deem necessary to resist any departure from the solemn pledges and assurances, and the responsibility for the conequences that may ensue on account of this gross breach of faith will entirely rest on the British Government.

1941

140. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th August, 1941, at Bombay, expressing concern at the widespread riots in India.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League are deeply concerned at the widespread riots in the country during the year and their recrudescence at several places soon after order was restored, which distinctly suggests an organised attempt on the part of the Hindus to crush the Muslim morale in places where they are in a minority, and urge upon the Government to take serious note of the situation, which has arisen on account of the speeches delivered from Hindu platforms, inciting people to violence in their endeavour

to create organised opposition to the just demands of the Muslims of India and to demonstrate that communal riots were not only confined to the Congress Government regime.

Further the Working Committee have received with surprise and alarm the information from its Provincial bodies that the attitude of Government officials generally has been unsympathetic in meeting Muslim demands and removing their just grievances. The Working Committee urge upon the Government to redress their grievances in this respect and to adopt adequate and effective measures for the protection of their lives and property.

Further the Working Committee draw the attention of the Government of India to the highhanded and arbitrary orders of the Government of Bihar in connection with the observance of the Bihar Sharif Day and the banning of the publication of Bihar Sharif enquiry committee report and declining to appoint special tribunals in order to secure fair trial and justice for the Mussalmans.

1941

141. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th and 27th October, 1941, at Delhi, protesting against entry of Soviet and British troops in Iran.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League considers the entry of the British and Soviet troops in the kingdom of Iran an act of open aggression and in view of the existing conditions, believes that the European Governments want to bring all the Islamic countries under their heel for their own selfish ends, and therefore, this Council warns the British and the other European Governments that the Mussalmans of India will not tolerate any foreign power's interference in any of the Islamic countries. In case the European Governments do not change their policy in respect of these Islamic countries, the Muslims of India will be compelled to adopt such effective measures as would be necessary for protecting these countries.

1941

142. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th and 27th October, 1941, at Delhi, condemning anti-Muslim riots in C. P. and Madras.

This meeting of the Council deeply deplores the serious riots at Amraoti in C.P. and Nellore in Madras Presidency which clearly indicate that they were not merely the outcome of sudden communal outbursts but were the result of calculated design to undermine the morale of the Muslims in areas where they are in a microscopic minority. In view of these riots and several others in other provinces, the Council urges upon the Government to devise forthwith strong measures to check the growing tendencies of lawlessness and terrorism of the Hindu majority and to afford effective protection to the Muslim minorities in the provinces.

1941

143. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 16th November, 1941, at Delhi, protesting against the expansion of the Govern-General's Executive Council.

The Working Committee regret that the British Government has not only failed to accept the offer of cooperation made by the Muslim League by its resolution dated June 17, 1940, but in utter disregard of it, it has expanded the Governor-General's Executive Council by associating with it persons representing nobody except themselves. This ill-advised and unfair action on the part of the Government in the opinion of the Committee was due to the fact that the British Government was not prepared to concede the just demands of the Muslim League even when the Congress party was engaged in obstructionist tactics and civil disobedience and refused to even consider any agreement within the framework of the present constitution. The Working Committee, therefore, urge upon the Government that no fruther steps be taken or adjust-

ments be made in the future, even within the framework of the present constitution and law without the approval and consent of the All-India Muslim League, and once more warn the Government that any action in this connection without the approval of the Muslim League will be deeply resented and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue will be entirely that of the Government.

1941

144. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th and 27th December, 1941, at Nagpur, on the statement of the Viceroy.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have read with satisfaction the statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 15th of December, 1941, at Calcutta, reaffirming the policy enunciated in the declaration of the 8th of August, 1940, which laid down inter alia the following principle for the future constitution of India.

"There are two main points which have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of minorities, in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part, either of the Act of 1935, or of the policy and plan on which it is based.

His Majesty's Government's concern, that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision, has also been brought out.

That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India, to any system of Government whose authority

is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

His Excellency further made it clear in the declaration of the 8th August, 1940, that it was for the representatives of India themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

This policy of the British Government was reaffirmed by the Secretary of State of India in his speech during the debate in the House of Commons on the 22nd of April, 1941, in the following words :

"What was the essence of that statement? It was that the framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and, indeed, revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think, even yet been fully appreciated, either in this country or in India.

"Even more important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself, and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principle elements in India's National life. That is an essential prerequisite to the success of the future constitution".

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in their meeting held on the 22nd of September, 1940, expressed their satisfaction at the declaration, as the principles enunciated therein covered the consideration of the demand of the Mussalmans for the division of India, which was made long before the declaration, at Lahore, on the 23rd of March, 1940, and is popularly known as the Pakistan Scheme.

Since then, responsible Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India and Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister, have, from time to time, amplified and confirmed the policy underlying the declaration, thereby assuring 100 million Mussalmans of India, that the British Government was fully alive to the realities of the political situation in India, and realised that any decision opposed to the natural aspiration of Mussalmans as a separate entity would hasten a catastrophe and make peaceful administration impossible.

The Working Committee, however, are deeply concerned and alarmed that while the policy of the British Government still remains the same as laid down in the declaration of the 8th of August, 1940, there is a growing tendency in a section of the British press and politicians, who under the stress of the war against the Axis Powers and the entry of Japan in the arena, to a revision of the policy hitherto followed and to start the policy of appeasement of the Congress by making a fresh declaration in utter disregard of the previous statements and promises to the Mussalmans of India and in ignorance of the nature and extent of the political, religious and cultural differences existing between the major communities in India, viz., Hindus and Muslims.

The Working Committee, therefore, consider it necessary to warn the British public and Government that any departure from the policy and the solemn declaration of the 8th of August, 1940, and the pledges given therein to the Mussalmans, would constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India, and that any revision of policy or any fresh declaration, which adversely affects the demand of Pakistan or proceeds on the basis of a Central Government with India as one single unit and Mussalmans as an All-India minority, shall be strongly resented by the Muslims who will be compelled to resist it with all the forces at their command, which would at this critical juncture, among other things, necessarily result in the serious impediment of the country's war efforts, which have so far been largely carried on with the help and support of the Mussalmans because of the policy and attitude hitherto adopted

by the Muslim League in order not to embarrass or impede war efforts as far as possible.

1941

145. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th and 27th December 1941, at Nagpur, on the danger to India due to Japan's entry into the War.

In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the War on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed their willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country as is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939 when he accepted the offer of the Viceroy that the Congress and the League should come to an adjustment in the Provincial field to ensure harmonious working of the provincial government, consequent on which the representatives of the Congress and the League will be willing to participate in the Central Government as members of the Executive Council. This proposal of the Viceroy was summarily rejected by the Congress on the ground that their demand embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, dated the 10th of October 1939, for a declaration of India's independence and the right of Indians to frame their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, was not met by the British Government.

Further the Muslim League on the 17th of June 1940 passed the following resolution, which clearly indicates that the League has all along adhered to the policy declared by its President in November 1939.

The Working Committee view with alarm the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly de-

priving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regard the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies, as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country, and the Working Committee call upon the Government of India to prepare tne country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee are constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India, indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some of the provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorise its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

The Committee are of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close cooperation is agreed upon on an All-India basis, and not province-wise, between the Government and the Muslim League, such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of the imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in cooperation with other parties on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the centre and the provinces within the framework of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution.

1942

146. Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the League in their meeting held on 21st February 1942 at Delhi.

The Working Committee express their deep sympathey with the sufferings of the Mussalmans and other Indians in Malaya, Singapore, Burma and other places in the Far East and call upon the Mussalmans all over India to do all they can to give relief to evacuees and those who are now stranded in the various parts of India and further request the British Government to help them in every possible way.

1942

147. Resolution of the Council of the League adopted on 23rd February 1942 at Delhi.

This Council of the All-India Muslim League views with great concern and sympathy the question of the Muslim Kazaks who have come into India from Soviet Russia and the great hardships and privations they have suffered owing to lack of food, shelter and sympathy. This Council requests the Government of India to make proper arrangement and provision for the welfare of these Kazaks and find ways and means to allow them to settle peacefully in some part of North West India.

1942

148. Resolution of the Emergent Meeting of the Working Committee of All-India Muslim League, adopted on 2nd February 1942, at Delhi, on the proposals passed at the Non-Party Conference.

The Working Committee have carefully considered the proposals formulated by the so-called Non-Party Conference presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and are definitely of

the opinion that if the British Government are misled into accepting them Muslim India will without doubt revolt against any such decision, for these proposals clearly mean the virtual transfer of all power and authority to the Central Government to be set up as indicated in these proposals on the basis of India being a single national unit and enjoying Dominion Status in action, thereby establishing Congress or Hindu Raj for all purposes. Muslim India will never accept such a position which is sought to be secured by Hindu leaders who are virtually hand in glove with the Congress and other allied Hindu organisations in the country under the guise of interim changes during the period of the War, but in reality the object behind is to coerce the British Government at this critical moment to surrender and compel them to prejudge and torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. This will be a clear breach of the pledges given by His Majesty's Government and recently reaffirmed by the Secretary of State for India Mr. Amery, in his speech at Leeds on the 4th of February 1942.

1942

149. Quaid-e-Azam's Appeal for Funds to help the All-India Muslim League in its works.

21st March 1942.

You know the world is in a great turmoil. The conflagration of the war, which started in Europe, has enveloped the two hemispheres and its flames have now reached the gates and borders of India. The face of the world is being changed rapidly and like every nation we must be prepared to meet the grave dangers threatening our very existence. We must, therefore, be fully prepared to deal with all exigencies and critical situations that may arise or develop from time to time with courage, calmness, self-reliance and fortitude.

The renaissance of Indian Muslims began about five years ago under the banner of the All-India Muslim League; and Muslim India, thank God, is no longer in a paralytic state and has, at last, roused itself from the deadly slumber and

shaken off the lethargy of decades. In this short period we have, I am glad to say, made big strides, but you must be organised to be able to reach our destination. We have yet to achieve and accomplish our goal of Pakistan.

So far we have not raised any general funds and have managed somehow or other with the meagre means at our disposal. This is the first time that I am making an appeal seriously and solemnly for funds, as I feel that the time has come when it is no longer possible to carry on the administration at home and propaganda abroad of this growing and powerful organisation that we have built up with hardly any money.

I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to every Mussalman, rich or poor, to contribute his or her mite to the funds of the All-India Muslim League, so that we may all the more effectively carry out the aims and objects and policy and programme of the Muslim League which may enable us to fulfil our sacred mission of safeguarding the interests of Muslim India and establishing Pakistan in our homelands in the north-west and eastern zones of India.

I have thought very carefully over the different ways of collecting funds and, after due consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the best course for those who wish to help us is to send their contributions direct to me for the purpose mentioned above.

I cannot impress too strongly upon the Mussalmans of India that the present is the most critical time in our history and if we are not well-equipped, vigilant or active, there might be a setback for us from which we may never recover. I am confident that my appeal will not fail.

Islam expects every Mussalman to do his duty by his people and by his nation.

1942

150. Text of the Draft Declaration brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, known as "Cripps' Proposals" which he released at a Press Conference in New Delhi on 29th March, 1942.

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realization of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration:

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to:

(i) the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) the signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) The constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities:

Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

1942

151. Resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, passed on 6th April, 1942, at Allahabad.

"This Session expresses its heartfelt sympathies with the Indian nationals who had settled down in Java, Burma, Malaya and Singapore and who have had to lose their all and sailed homewards in most tragic circumstances in overcrowded and under-provisioned ships or trailed backwards across forests and mountains foodless and without shelter for weeks on end.

The Session condemns the action of those responsible for the shameful discrimination against Indian nationals in the matter of accommodation, route facilities, food and water and demands of the Government of India to take immediate and effective steps to save the lives of thousands of our helpless and hapless compatriots still in the inhospitable land of Burma by evacuating them at the earliest possible moment and placing at their disposal every available means of transportation and every possible facility.

This Session draws the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate and completely worthless arrangements so far made by it for giving relief and succour to the Indian evacuees who are reaching Chittagong, Imphal and Madras coastal ports, amongst other places, in several thousands daily, penniless and foodless.

This Session calls upon the Provincial and District Muslim League to render every possible assistance to the unfortunate evacuees in their great distress.

Proposed by—Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin (Bengal)
Seconded by—The Hon'ble S. M. Padsha (Madras)

1942

152. Text of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League passed on 11th April, 1942, at Allahabad on the "Cripps' Proposals".

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the announcement made by Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, in the House of Commons on the 11th of March, 1942 and the Draft Declaration of the War Cabinet of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of India and also interim proposals during the critical period which now faces India, for the immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country.

The Committee appreciate that the British Prime Minister, in his pronouncement, made it clear that the Draft Declaration embodied only the proposals of His Majesty's Government and not their decision, and that they are subject to agreement between the main elements in India thus maintaining the validity of the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, which had promised to the Mussalmans that neither the machinery for the framing of the constitution should be set

up nor the constitution itself should be enforced without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

The Working Committee, while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognised by implication by providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India, regret that the proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodying the fundamentals, are not open to any modification and therefore no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee have no alternative but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable to them for reasons given below :

(1) The Mussalmans, after twenty-five years of genuine efforts for the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts, are convinced that it is neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel them so as to negative the professed object, for, in the Draft proposals the right of non-accession has been given to the existing provinces, which have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis.

The Mussalmans cannot be satisfied by such a declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny and demand a clear and precise pronouncement on the subject. Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issues is to court disaster.

In the Draft Proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union; but in the letter dated the 2nd of April from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, it is stated that "a province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in.

If the majority for accession to the Union is less than sixty per cent, the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population." In this connection it must be emphasised that in the provinces where the Muslims are in a majority, as in the case of the major provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, they are in a minority in the Legislative Assemblies; and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, the total number, namely, sixty and fifty respectively, is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated and a decision under such conditions cannot be the true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Mussalmans of those provinces.

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the provinces in which the Mussalmans are in a majority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assemblies, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the provinces and not to the Mussalmans alone, which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination.

(4) With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or form a Union.

(5) With regard to the treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement on the terms between the contracting parties, nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when there is a difference of opinion in negotiating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation.

(6) With regard to the interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections

of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available. Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the counsels of the country, is that Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the Centre and discard the rest of the Draft Scheme, and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements.

In conclusion the Committee wish to point out that the position of the Muslim League has been and is that unless the principle of Pakistan scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution dated March, 1940, which is now the creed of the All-India Muslim League, namely—

"The establishment of completely Independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, to constitute one Indian Union, composed of the two principal nations—Hindus and Muslims—which appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government as adumberated in the preamble of the Draft Declaration, the creation of more than one Union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility and is purely illusory.

(1) In the Draft Declaration a constitution-making body has been proposed with the primary object of creating one Indian Union. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it has finally decided that the only solution of India's constitutional problem is the partition of India into independent zones, and it will, therefore, be unfair to the Mussalmans to compel them to enter such a constitution-making body, whose main object is the creation of a new Indian Union. With conditions

as they are it will be not only futile but on the contrary may exacerbate bitterness and animosity amongst the various elements in the country.

Besides, the machinery which has been proposed for the creation of the constitution-making body, namely, that it will consist of members elected by the newly elected Lower Houses of the eleven provinces, upon the cessation of hostilities, as a single Electoral College by the system of proportional representation, is a fundamental departure from the right of the Mussalmans, by means of separate electorates which is the only sure way in which true representatives of the Mussalmans can be chosen.

The constitution-making body will take decisions by a bare majority on all questions of most vital and paramount character involved in the framing of the Constitution, which is a departure from the fundamental principles of justice and contrary to constitutional practice so far followed in the various countries and Dominions; and the Mussalmans, by agreeing to this will, instead of exercising their right and judgement as a constituent factor, be at the entire mercy of the constitution-making body, in which they will be a minority of about twenty-five per cent.

(3) The right of non-accession to the Union, as contemplated in the Draft Declaration, has been conceded, presumably, in response to the insistent demands by the Mussalmans for the partition of India, but the method and procedure laid down are such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign :

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of

their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;

"That in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them", is unequivocally accepted and the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination is conceded by means of a machinery which will reflect the true verdict of Muslim India, it is not possible for the Muslim League to accept any proposal or scheme regarding the future.

1942

153. Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League held in Bombay on 16th to 20th August, 1942, expressing apprehension of the Muslims of India over the anti-Muslim attitude pursued by the Congress.

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, having given their deep and anxious consideration to the present political development in the country, deplore the decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942, to launch an "open rebellion" by resorting to mass civil disobedience movement in pursuance of their objective of establishing Congress Hindu domination in India, which has resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

"It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that this movement is directed not only to coerce the British Government into handing over power to a Hindu oligarchy and thus disabling themselves from carrying out their moral obligations and pledges given to the Mussalmans and other sections of the peoples of India from time to time, but also to force the Mussalmans to submit and surrender to the Congress terms and dictation.

"Ever since the beginning of the War and even prior to that the sole objective of the Congress policy has been either to cajole or to coerce the British Government into surrendering power to the Congress—a Hindu body with a microscopic following of other communities—in utter suppression of one hundred million of Mussalmans, besides millions of other peoples of this vast sub-continent of India. While claiming the right of self-determination for India, which is a mere Congress euphemism for Hindu majority, it has persistently opposed the right of self-determination for the Muslim nation to decide and determine their own destiny.

"On May 1, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee by their resolution, emphatically repudiated the Muslim League demand for the right of self-determination for Muslims and this closed the door for the settlement of the communal problems, which is a condition precedent to the attainment of the freedom and independence of India. The Congress had also recognised this as an indispensable condition and had made it a prominent plank in the Congress programme for over twenty years, but by their recent decisions have suddenly thrown it overboard and in its stead substituted the fantastic theory that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem can only follow the withdrawal of British power from India.

"The negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps with the Congress broke down not on the issue of independence, but because of the refusal of the British Government to hand over the Muslims and the minorities to the tender mercies of the Congress. Any acquiescence in this on the part of the British would have been strenuously resisted by the ministries, and particularly by the Muslim nation, with memories of tyranny in the Congress governed Provinces still fresh and vivid in their minds.

"Baulked in their effort to cajole Sir Stafford Cripps to agree to the transfer of power to the Congress caucus, they decided upon a slogan—'Quit India'—accompanied with the threat of mass civil disobedience. This slogan is a mere

camouflage, and what is really aimed at is the supreme control of the Government of the country by the Congress.

"The Mussalmans are not a whit less insistent on freedom for the country and the achievement of independence of the people of India, which is the creed of the All-India Muslim League. They are, however, firmly convinced that the constituent elements in the life of the country are out for the establishment of Hindu Raj and to deal a death blow to the Muslim goal of Pakistan.

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of one hundred million of Muslims of India.

"While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand, the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League's offer of co-operation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government policy; with barren and sterile results and has now culminated in the open defiance of law and order.

"Since the commencement of hostilities the Muslim League has been ready and willing, either singly or in co-operation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility for running the administration and mobilising the resources of the country for the war efforts for the defence of India, if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces was conceded within the framework of the present Constitution, and in pursuance of this policy, the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August offer of 1940 of the British Government.

"But the Government in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to co-operate with the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of co-operation of the Muslim

League still, under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace, the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution of December 27, 1941, in the following words:

"In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the War on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed its willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country, is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939 .... the Working Commttee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties on the basis that a real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the Provinces within the framework of the present Constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future Constitution.

"But the British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League.

"While the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps virtually conceded the Congress demands on the right of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and forming of a Constituent Assembly with a preponderant Hindu majority for the framing of the post-war constitution, they merely recognised the possibility of establishing Pakistan, supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme.

"The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved in it, it is only possible, provided they are assured that it would lead to the realisation of the inspiring goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League, therefore, calls upon the British Government to come

forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they would abide by the verdict of the plebiscite of Mussalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March 1940.

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of one hundred millions of Muslims of India to establish Sovereign States in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in a majority.

"The Working Committee are fully convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and it is in complete consonance with justice and fair play to the two great nations—Muslims and Hindus—inhabiting this vast sub-continent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted it would bring the hundred millions of Mussalmans under the yoke of Hindu Raj which must inevitably result either in anarchy and chaos or complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for.

"The Muslim League, as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims, but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and the Hindus.

"The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposal and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government of India, in order to mobilise the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally.

"In these circumstances, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, after anxious and careful consideration, call upon the Mussalmans to abstain from any participation in the movement initiated by the Congress and to continue to pursue their normal peaceful life.

"The Working Committee hope that no attempt shall be made from any quarter to intimidate, coerce, molest or interfere in any manner with the normal life of the Muslims; otherwise the Muslims would be compelled and justified to offer resistance and adopt all such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their life, honour and property."

1942

154. Resolution passed on 9th November 1942 at Delhi by the Council of the League on Jewish machinations against Palestinian Arabs.

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League views with great concern the British attitude under the influence of Jewish machination still not granting independence to the Arabs of Palestine which Britain had pledged at the time of its great need and stress, during the course of the last Great War.

This Council of the All-India Muslim League regrets that in spite of the British Declaration of fighting for justice and right of all nations to be independent which they claim as one of their war aims, it is trying to force the Jewish domination over the Arabs against their will, in direct violation of the pledges made during the last war, and the principle it claims to fight during the present war. This leads us to doubt and suspect the bonafides of the United Nations as to the war aims.

Further, this meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim brothers, hereby calls upon the British Government to honour their pledges and do justice to the Arabs of Palestine. The meeting also assures its Arab brethren in Palestine, that

Muslim India will stand by them in their fight for their rights against the domination of international Jewery.

1942

155. Resolution of the Council of the League passed on 9th November, 1942, at Delhi on Muslims in Kashmir.

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the aggressive and provocative behaviour of the Kashmir National Conference Party in attacking Muslims on Id day at Srinagar as also the attitude of the Kashmir officials who connived at the excesses committed by the Nationalists and took no adequate steps to check the ensuing unrest or to protect the life and propery of peaceful citizens.

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that this highly improper behaviour of the Kashmir National Conference Party and the attitude of the Kashmir officials concerned is clearly aimed at undermining and crushing the perfectly legitimate attempt of the Kashmir Muslims to organize themselves under the banner of the Muslim Conference and is bound to lead to serious repercussions among the Muslims of India. This Council therefore, warns the Kashmere Authorities against pursuing their policy against the Muslim Conference and its organisers and demands firstly that suitable steps be taken at once to punish the aggressors, to help the aggrieved and to do their duty and, secondly, that an impartial Commission of enquiry be appointed without delay to enquire into the cause and results of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing their recurrence and generally to helping the Muslims fully to pursue their rightful and legitimate activities in the state.

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to warn the Kashmere Government against pursuing a policy which is bound to lead to grave unrest among the Mussalmans at this critical

period and to persuade it to adopt instead an attitude of sympathy towards Muslim aspirations".

156. Resolution of the Council of the League, dated 7th March, 1943, Delhi.

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League approves of the decision of the Sind Provincial Legislative Assembly in endorsing the principle of Pakistan Scheme adopted by the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on the 23rd of March, 1940, and feels confident that before long the other Muslim majority Provinces will follow suit."

157. Resolution of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi, dated 26th April, 1943.

"This Session of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal) Bill passed by the South African Parliament and makes it clear that if the Bill is assented to by the Crown it would lead to the gravest breach between Indian and South African peoples and will go to sap the foundation of the future of the Commonwealth of Nations and calls upon the British Government to intervene in the matter immediately.

"It is the considered opinion of this session of the All-India Muslim League that the only solution of the Indian problem in South Africa is the enfranchisement of Indian settlers there. This session, therefore, calls upon the Union Government to refrain from enforcing the Bill, convene a Round Table Conference between the Government of India and the Union and arrive at an amicable solution of the situation which has arisen.

This session urges upon the Government of India that in case the Union Government fails to convene a Round Table Conference immediately and enforces the Bill they should examine the position with a view to bring into operation forth-

with some of the provisions of the Reciprocity Act recently passed by the Indian Legislature.

Proposed by—Mr. Z. H. Lari, U.P.
Seconded by—Sir Raza Ali, U.P.

1943

158. Resolution passed by the annual session of the League at Delhi on 26th April, 1943.

Resolved that the following names for the All-India women sub-committee be substituted for those approved under Resolution No. 8 passed at the Madras session of the All-India Muslim League in April, 1941 with power to the Committee to fill in any vacancy that may occur owing to death, resignation or otherwise.

U.P.—Begum Wasim, Begum Habibullah, Begum Azaz Rasool M.L.C., Begum Mohammad Ali, Begum Akhtar Mohammad Khan, Mrs. Razaullah Beg, Mrs. Saiduddin and Rahilla Khatoon Saheba.

Punjab—Begum Shahabuddin, Mrs. Hakim, Begum M. Ispahani.

Bombay—Miss F. Jinnah, Begum Hafizuddin, Begum Jairajbhoy, Mrs. Mohd. Husain and Mrs. Somjee.

C.P.—Begum Siddique Ali Khan, Salimuzzohra Begum, Mrs. Iftikhar Ali.

Bihar—Begum Akhtar.

Assam—Begum Abdul Matin Choudhary.

Sind—Lady Haroon, Begum Anwar Hedayatullah, Mrs. Allana.

Baluchistan—Begum Kazi Isa.

Delhi—Begum Hussain M. Malik, Anjuman Ara, Begum Mrs. Ikramullah, Mrs. Bokhari and Begum Mohammad Husain.

N.W.F.P.—Begum Wahab and Mrs. Kamaluddin.
Madras—Mrs. Karim Ispahani.

Proposed by—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib,

(Passed unanimously).

1943

159. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League adopted on 24th and 26th April, 1943, at Delhi, demanding self-determination for Muslims of India.

This session of the All-India Muslim League views with concern and grave apprehension the failure of the British Government to make an explicit declaration asked for in the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in Bombay on the 20th of August, 1942, which inter alia says:

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of 100 million Muslims of India. While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand, the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League offer of cooperation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government's policy with barren and sterile results and has now culminated in open defiance of law and order. Since the commencement of hostilities the Muslim League has been ready and willing either singly or in cooperation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility for running the administration and mobilis-

ing the resources of the country for the war effort and for the defence of India if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces is conceded within the framework of the present constitution, and in pursuance of this policy the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August offer of 1940 of the British Government.

But the Government, in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to cooperate with the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of cooperation of the Muslim League, under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace, the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution of December 27, 1941, in the following words :-

"In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the War on the side of Axis powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed its willingness to share the responsibility of defence of the country as is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November, 1939".

"The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that a real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the provinces within the framework of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution."

The British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League. While the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps virtually conceded the Congress demands of the right

of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and forming of a Constituent Assembly with a preponderantly Hindu majority for the framing of the post-war constitution, they merely recognised the possibility of establishing Pakistan supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme.

The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved it is only possible they are assured that it will lead to the realization of the goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League, therefore, calls upon the British Government to come forward without further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by the verdict of a plebiscite of Mussalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March, 1940.

Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the world, the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of 100 millions of Muslims of India to establish sovereign states in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in majority.

The Working Committee are fully convinced that Pakistan in the only solution of India's constitutional problem and is in complete consonance with justice and fair play to the two great nations, Muslims and Hindus, inhabiting this vast subcontinent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted it would bring the 100 millions of Muslims under the yoke of Hindu Raj which must inevitably result either in anarchy and chaos or complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for. The Muslim League as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and Hindus.

The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the War provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally. Since that resolution was passed, the speeches and statements made by responsible British statesmen, both in England and in India lead to the conviction that not only the declaration such as was asked for, will not be forthcoming, but that some kind of Federal Constitution, not necessarily on the model embodied in the Act of 1935 is under contemplation. This session, therefore, warns the British Government in all earnestness that the imposition of such a Federal Constitution will be resisted by Muslim India with all its might, which will inevitably result in strife, bloodshed and misery, the responsibility of which will rest on the British Government alone.

That this session of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that the attainment of the cherished goal of Pakistan is only possible by the untiring efforts, willing sacrifices and grim determination of the Muslims, and they should therefore do their utmost to acquire the strength requisite for such an undertaking.

Proposed by—Ch. Khaliquzzaman Sahib.
Seconded by—M. A. Guzdar Sahib, Sind.
Supported by—Col. Khizar Hayat Khan, Punjab
" Maulana Akram Khan Sahib, Bengal
" Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, M.L.A. Bombay
" Kazi Mohammad Isa Sahib, Baluchistan
" Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf, U.P.
" Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Sahib, C.P.
" Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, M.L.A., Madras
" Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Sahib, M.L.A., N.W.F.P.
" Maulvi Latifur Rahman Sahib, Behar
" Begum Aizaz Rasul, U.P.
" Raja Sahib Mahmoodabad, U.P.

1943

160. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League adopted on 26th April, 1943, at Delhi, expressing alarm at Zionist propaganda in U.S.A.

This session of the All-India Muslim League views with great concern and alarm the new Zionist propaganda and move in U.S.A. which is putting pressure on U.S.A. Government for exercising its influence with the British Government firstly to remove all present restrictions on Jewish immigration in Palestine and secondly to adopt the policy of converting Palestine into a Jewish State.

In the opinion of this session the aim of this new Zionist move is to make Jewish majority in Palestine a 'fait accompli' by opening her doors to the Jewish war refugees on the ground of war emergency and persecution of the Jews in Europe.

This session condemns this new move as a deliberate attempt to perpetrate a wrong on Arab and Islamic world at a time when the Arab National Higher Committee of Palestine stands disbanded and the Arab nationalists are at present almost defenceless against organized Jewry and High Finance in the world.

This session reiterating its demands for the fulfilment of Arab national demands for Arabs' independence in Palestine and Syria solemnly warns the British Government against any step or move which may prove detrimental to Arab national interests and declares that such a policy will be bitterly resented by the whole Arab and Islamic world as an outrage on democracy and justice and inalienable Arab rights to their homelands. (Chair).

1943

161. Resolution of the Council of the League passed on 14th November, 1943, at Delhi.

This Council of the All-India Muslim League has learnt with alarm and misgivings that the Jewish Agencies have again started anti-Arab propaganda and are pulling strings in America and England for further immigration of the Jews to Palestine to the detriment of the just and legitimate interests of the people of that country. This Council considers it necessary to remind the British Government that the reopening of the immigration question will be directly in conflict with even the policy outlined in the White Paper and contrary to the solemn pledges given by the ex-Viceroy Lord Linlithgow in his letter dated 27th June, 1940 to Mr. M. A. Jinnah the President of the All-India Muslim League in the following passage:

"Finally, I would invite your attention to the measures so far taken to implement the policy laid down in the White Paper of May, 1939, namely Regulation of Jewish Emigration since April, 1939, in accordance with the provisions of the White Paper and the enactment of legislation, last February, with which you will be familiar from the references in the press and which was embodied in Command Paper 6180 controlling the transfer of land in the interests of Arab Agriculturists. You may rest assured that every consideration has been and will continue to be given by His Majesty's Government to legitimate Arab claims."

The Council emphatically warns the British Government that any further injustice done to the Palestine Arabs under Jewish or foreign influence or by a departure from the solemn pledges held out to the Arabs from time to time which might result in the frustration of their national aspirations for independence will be greatly resented by the Muslims of India.

1943

162. Resolution of the Council of the Muslim League adopted on 15th November, 1943.

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League urges with all the emphasis at its command, upon His

Majesty's Government in particular and other Allied powers that the territories recently released from the control of Italy viz., Cerenacea, Libya and Tripoli will not only be not handed back to Italian Government but they would be constituted as independent sovereign states.

This Council is further of opinion that the vicious system of mandates should be abolished once for all and the countries of which the mandates were held by Great Britain and France, viz., Palestine, Syria and Lebanon will be restored to the people of these countries to set up their own sovereign Governments in these territories.

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declarations by the United Nations that they seek to liberate the subject nationalities, this Council demands that the united powers should urge France to liberate Morocco, Algeria and Tunis.

1943

163. Resolution of the Council of the League passed on 15th November, 1943, at Delhi.

This Council of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the dastardly and insane assault made on the person of Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah in Bombay and thanks Almighty God that He saved the life of our beloved leader.

This Council of the All-India Muslim League extends its sincere congratulations to the Quaid-i-Azam on his providential escape and prays that he may be spared long to guide the hundred million Muslims of India under his great leadership to their cherished goal of Pakistan.

1943

164. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Council on the Bengal Famine passed on 15th November, 1943, in Delhi.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League having taken into consideration the present food situation in the country, particularly in Bengal, views with grave concern and alarm the tragic consequences resulting from it in Bengal and some other parts of the country, and emphatically urges upon the Government of India and the British Government to adopt, immediately, more vigorous and effective measures to cope with the food problem in the country and to remove distress prevailing in Bengal and other parts of the country and further urges upon the Government to take effective precautionary measures against recurrence of similar conditions either in Bengal or in any other part of the country.

The Council calls upon the people of Bengal to give their wholehearted support and co-operation to the present Ministry which is doing its very best for alleviating the distress prevailing in the province and to prevent its recurrence in future.

The Council appeals to the Mussalmans all over India to continue to give their help to the people of Bengal either in cash contributions or in kind.

1943

165. Resolution of the Council of All-India Muslim League, adopted on 15th November 1943, at Delhi, calling upon France to grant independence to Lebanon.

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League views with profound alarm the grave situation that has arisen in Lebanon as a result of the action of the French authorities in forcibly suppressing the demand of full autonomy by the Lebanese and views with satisfaction the clear declaration made by the British Government with regard to the recent developments that have taken place in Lebanon and reaffirming the solemn pledge guaranteeing the independence of the country. The Council further urges upon the British Government to take immediate steps to restore normal condi-

tions and to secure full independence for the country and thus prevent the situation from getting worse.

1943

166. Resolution of the Working Committee of All-India Muslim League, adopted on 15th November 1943, recording its views on the situation in Kashmir.

The Working Committee, having considered the recent correspondence that passed between the ex-Viceroy Lord Linlithgow and the President of the All-India Muslim League regarding the situation in Kashmir and having heard the leaders of the Kashmir Muslim Conference headed by Chowdhry Ghulam Abbas Sahib, resolved that the President should take such further steps in the matter as he may deem necessary.

1943

167. Resolution passed by the Council of the Muslim League held in Karachi on 26th December 1943.

Whereas the All-India Muslim League in its anual session held at Delhi in April 1943 had, in view of the vague, indefinite and unsettled policy of the British Government towards the Muslim demand of Pakistan on the one hand and the unpatriotic, short-sighted and antagonistic attitude of the Hindus on the other, resolved to rely on the untiring effort, grim determination and willing sacrifices of the Muslims of India generally and the Muslim of Pakistan zones in particular for the attainment of their cherished goal, this session of the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves to appoint a Committee of Action of not less than five and not more than seven members to be nominated by the President to prepare and organize the Muslims all over India to meet all contingencies, resist the imposition of an all-India Federation or any other constitution for one United India, and prepare them for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

Proposed by—Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman Sahib (U.P.)
Seconded by—Hon'ble Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb (N.W.F.P.)
Supported by—Sheikh Karamat Ali Saheb (Punjab)
" Hon'ble Mr. Abdur Rub Nishtar (N.W.F.P.)

1943

168. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League adopted on 26th December, 1943, at Karachi.

Whereas, as the first step toward consolidating the strength of the Muslims in Pakistan areas and preparing them for the heavy and onerous responsibilities inherent in the status of an Independent Sovereign State, the All-India Muslim League has, with the support and co-operation of the Muslims succeeded in establishing its Governments in all the Pakistan Provinces. which has naturally opened up vast opportunities to the Muslim representatives in the Assemblies and Cabinets for service to their people in the provincial sphere of activities like education, agriculture, irrigation, providing with facilities for labour, economic holdings and fair rent for tenants etc, and whereas it is acutely realized that neither the people nor the Provincial States, which have for long been denied opportunities for a fair and natural development due to historical, political and, in some instances, communal considerations, will be able to ameliorate their lot to any appreciable degree or effectively function as a State without a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction and state industrialisation, this session of the All-India Muslim League hereby authorises the President to appoint a Committee, with power to co-opt to prepare a comprehensive scheme for a five-year programme for economic and social uplift. State industrialisation in Pakistan zones, introduction of free primary basic education, reform of land system, stabilisation of rent, security of tenure, improvement in the conditions of labour and agriculture and control of money-lending. The

Committee shall submit its report as early as possible and an interim report not later than June 1944 to the Working Committee for necessary action thereon.

Proposed by—Mr. Zahirul Hassan Lari (U.P.)
Seconded by—Hon'ble Tamizuddin Khan Sahib (Bengal)
Supported by—Mr. Hamid Nizami (Punjab).

1943

169. Resolution of All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th December 1943, at Karachi, appointing a Committee of Action.

Whereas the All-India Muslim League in its annual session held at Delhi in April 1943 had, in view of the vague, indefinite and unsettled policy of the British Government towards the Muslim demand of Pakistan on the one hand and the unpatriotic, shortsighted and antagonistic attitude of the Hindus on the other, resolved to rely on the untiring effort, grim determination and willing sacrifices of the Muslims of India generally and the Muslims of Pakistan zones in particular for the attainment of their cherished goal, this session of the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves to appoint a Committee of Action of not less than five and not more than seven members, to be nominated by the President to prepare and organize the Muslims all over India to meet all contingencies, resist the imposition of an all-India Federation or any other constitution for one United India, and prepare them for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

Proposed by—Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman Sahib (U.P.)
Seconded by—Hon'ble Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb (N.W.F.P.)
Supported by—Sheikh Karamat Ali Saheb (Punjab)
Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Rub Nishtar (N.W.F.P.)

1943

170. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th December 1943, at Karachi, condemning rise in prices of essential commodities.

This session of the All-India Muslim League is greatly perturbed by shortage and rising prices of all necessaries of life throughout the country and is of the view that the present position is primarily due to erroneous and ineffective policy pursued by the Central Government in India during the last four years.

The session places on record its considered opinion that immediate, comprehensive and effective price control of all necessaries of life and procurement rationing thereof is an absolute necessity and calls upon Central and Provincial Governments to introduce the same forthwith.

Proposed by—Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam (Bihar)

Seconded by—Hon'ble Sir G. H. Hidayat Ullah (Sind)

Supported by—Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin (Bengal)

" Hon'ble Mr. A. M. Chowdhry (Assam)

1943

171. Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on 26th December 1943, at Karachi, demanding independence of Caranacea, Libya and Tripoli.

"This session of the All-India Muslim League urges with all the emphasis at its command upon His Majesty's Government in particular and other allied powers in general, that the territories recently released from the control of Itlay, viz., Ceranacea, Lybia and Tripoli will not only be not handed back to the Italian Government but they would be constituted as Independent Sovereign States.

This session is further of the opinion that the vicious system of mandates should be abolished once for all and the countries of which the mandates were held by Great Britain and France, viz., Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon will be restored to the people of the countries to enable them to set up their own sovereign Governments in these territories.

Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration by the United Nations that they seek to liberate subject nationalities, this session of the All-India Muslim League demands that the United Powers should urge upon France to liberate Morocco, Algeria and Tunis.

Proposed by—Syed Zakir Ali Sahib (U.P)
Seconded by—M. Jamal Mian Sahib (U.P.)

172. 1907-1943—Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League.

YEAR	SESSION	PLACE	NAME OF THE PRESIDENT
1907	First	Karachi	Sir Adamji Pir Bhai
1908	Second	Amritsar	Sir Syed Ali Imam
1909	Third	Delhi	H.H. Sir Ghulam Mohammad Ali of Arkat
1910	Fourth	Nagpur	Syed Nabi Ullah
1911	Fifth	Calcutta	Sir Khawaja Salimullah Bahadur
1912	Sixth	Lucknow	Sir Mohammad Shafi
1913	Seventh	Agra	Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola
1915	Eighth	Bombay	Mr. Mazharul Haq
1916	Ninth	Lucknow	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
1917	Tenth	Bombay	Maulana Mohammad Ali (as he was in prison at the time, the Presidential chair was kept vacant)

(Continued)

YEAR	SESSION	PLACE	NAME OF THE PRESIDENT
1918	Eleventh	Delhi	Mr. A. K. M. Fazlul Haq
1919	Twelfth	Amritsar	Hakim Ajmal Khan
1920	Thirteenth	Nagpur	Dr. M. A. Ansari
1921	Fourteenth	Ahmedabad	Maulana Hasrat Mohani
1923	Fifteenth	Lucknow	Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri
1924	Fifteenth (adjourned session)	Lahore	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
1924	Sixteenth	Bombay	Sir Syed Raza Ali
1925	Seventeenth	Aligarh	Sir Abdur Rahim
1926	Eighteenth	Delhi	Shaikh Abdul Quadir
1927	Nineteenth	Calcutta	Sir Mohammad Yaqoob
1928 & 1929	Twentieth	Calcutta & Delhi	Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmoodabad
1930	Twenty-first	Allahabad	Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal
1931	Twenty-second	Delhi	Chaudhari Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan
1933	Twenty-third	Delhi	K.B.Hafiz Hidayat Hussain
1936	Twenthy-fourth	Bombay	Sir Sayed Wazir Hassan
1937	Twenty-fifth	Lucknow	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
1938	Special session	Calcutta	do
1938	Twenty-sixth	Patna	do
1940	Twenty-seventh	Lahore	do
1941	Twenty-eighth	Madras	do
1942	Twenty-ninth	Allahabad	do
1943	Thirtieth	Delhi	do
1943	Thirty-first	Karachi	do

1944

173. Text of a press statement of the Quaid on Punjab politics, with special reference to the Unionist Party.

"I had been receiving various reports for some time now which conveyed to me that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and the Muslim League Assembly Party were not fully and efficiently organised and working systematically. This brought me to the Punjab. I have been here now for more than a fortnight and I wanted to examine the situation personally: I have seen and met a large body of people and heard various views, and I find that the issue before us is how best to put real life in the Muslim League organisation in the Punjab.

"Among others one of the matters that engaged my attention was the Muslim League Party in the Legislature. The question that is brought to my notice is whether the members of the Muslim League Party, who owe their allegiance to the defunct Unionist Party's creed, policy and programme can remain in the Muslim League Assembly Party. There cannot be any divided loyalty.

"It is obvious and, what is more, it has been expressly decided by the All-India Muslim League a long time ago now that a member of the Muslim League cannot remain in or join any other political party.

Unionist Creed

"The creed of the so-called Unionist Party is Dominion Status and a United Democratic Federal Constitution for India as a whole. Its policy and programme are mainly in the interest of one class—the zamindars—whereas the Muslim League is the people's party and the custodian and trustee of all interests and classes that constitute the Muslim nation. Hence, subject to such arrangement as may be arrived at for the purposes of coalition, its fundamental and basic principles are quite dif-

ferent from that of the Unionists. We cannot be tied down to the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party.

"Having ascertained the facts I naturally discussed this matter with the leader of the Party, Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, and with a large body of members of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly. The Muslim League Party is subject to the control and supervision of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim League and it is bound to comply with the final decisions of the All-India Muslim League. This question is entirely a matter of our internal affairs and does not affect any other party or group in the Assembly. Owing to the unfortunate death of the father of Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, the discussions regarding this matter were interrupted, and his absence from Lahore has naturally delayed the matter. I feel that it would be hardly right and proper that Malik Khizr Hyat Khan should be disturbed at this moment of his sad bereavement.

"No Commitments"

"I want to make it clear that there is no question of our being bound by any commitments to any one which stand in our way, nor are we under any obligation to any other party in the present coalition, which in any way constitutes any bar or precludes us from taking any decision or decisions we think proper, consistent with our creed, policy and programme. Those members of the Muslim League Party if they are under the impression that they are bound by the creed, policy, and programme of the so-called Unionist Party are wrong.

"You cannot owe allegiance to two political parties. There can be no divided loyalty, so far as the League is concerned.

"The so-called pact clearly lays down that we may continue the present coalition or enter into any other coalition before or after the election. The present coalition is merely at

will and formed for specific purposes. The question of the label or the name of the party, namely, the Unionist Party, arises, because it is calculated to mislead the public, and has been in fact utilised, and it is openly claimed because of its label that the members of the Muslim League Party are Unionist first and Muslim Leaguers next and are bound by the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party. It follows that if this position is accepted, the Muslim League Party in the Assembly is a mere creature of the Unionists; and further it is insisted that, if we take steps to clarify this matter and put our Muslim League Party in the Assembly on a clean basis, then Sir Chhotu Ram would have nothing to do with the Muslim League Party at all, and we are threatened that it must lead to the dissolution and break of the present coalition.

Talks with Sir Chhotu Ram

"I think that the honour and conscience of every member of the Muslim League Party demands that he must clearly declare that his allegiance and loyalty is either pledged to the one party or the other. We are, therefore, determined to put our house in order on a sound, healthy and honourable basis. Although this is a matter of our internal concern, I thought it proper to consult Sir Chhotu Ram as representing his group as a member of the present coalition.

"I put our case before him, and we have had a free and frank discussion regarding this matter. So far, Sir Chhotu Ram is adamant, and insists and maintains that every member of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly owes his primary allegiance to the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party, and is bound by it. This position taken up by him is utterly untenable, and it is now for us to consider what decision we should take in the matter.

"So far as Sardar Baldev Singh (Development Minister) and Sir Manoharlal (Finance Minister) are concerned, they never were Unionists and have had nothing whatever to do with the so called Uionist Party. Although they are in the

present coalition, they only recognise the Ministerial Party and not the so-called Unionist Party.

"Hence, having regard to the composition of the present coalition in which the Muslim League Party is by far the largest and majority party, it was suggested that the label, Unionist Party, which even now is not recognised by Sardar Baldev Singh and Sir Manoharlal, should be dropped, and the present coalition Party which, in fact, is the true position, and this change of label cannot and does not affect the continuance of the present coalition, so long as the parties concerned desire to maintain it.

"Coalitions are formed for certain specific purposes only, and the respective parties to the coalition do not forswear their allegiance or give up the allegiance to the creed, policy and fundamental programme of their respective parties.

"I am thankful to Sardar Baldev Singh who was good enough to see me, and I had the opportunity of having a free and frank talk with him also. I have to leave for Delhi tonight, but the thread will be taken up by me as soon as possible, in the first instance, with Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party. I hope to return to Lahore before the end of the month."

1944

174. Quaid-e-Azam's message to the nation on the occasion of the celebration of Pakistan Day on March 23, 1944.

"This is the fourth year since we passed our Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940, and this golden day has been ever since observed every year by the Muslim Nation all over this subcontinent.

"I have no doubt that this year it will be observed as enthusiastically and whole-heartedly as in the past. Every year that passes the Muslim League is going forward from

strength to strength, and our organisation is tackling great questions and issues in every department of life—educationally, economically, socially and politically. We are nearer realisation of our goal of Pakistan and the achievement of our freedom than ever before.

"I am sure that I am speaking on your behalf when I say that Muslim India will not rest content until we have realised our goal. Our goal is clearly indicated in the famous Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, and it is the only solution of the political problem of India, and it is a proposal that will bring universal peace. It will make the two major nations in this country happier, and in that direction lies the achievement of freedom of both Hindus and Mussalmans.

"For us Pakistan means our defence, our deliverance, and our destiny. It is the only way which will ensure to us our freedom and the maintenance of our honour and glory of Islam. We have to mould our people into a well-organised and solid nation. The speed of the final victory depends upon the proportion of labour that we put forth, and it is within your grasp.

"During the last several years we have made remarkable progress, and every year it is doubled and redoubled. We are not lacking in the great qualities and virtues in comparison with other nations. We have achieved a big step and have created a vigorous consciousness of national unity. Let us go forward, full of hope for the coming year, with faith in our hearts, unity in our camp, discipline in our ranks, and I am confident of our success, and we shall without doubt realize our goal of Pakistan."

1944

175. Text of a press statement of the Quaid on the failure of Jinnah-Khizr talks.

"We (Mr. Jinnah and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan) have had prolonged discussions; and since my arrival here for the second time, in continuation of our previous discussions which started as far as March 19, I met Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 20, and he has discussed the matter with me during half a dozen interviews lasting over two hours or three hours on each occasion, and he had promised to give me his final reply today.

"He arrived at my house this afternoon. When I asked him what was his final attitude and that of Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh regarding the proposals which I had placed before him and them was, he then verbally told me many things, and I suggested that in fairness to him and me it is better that he should give me the final reply in writing, so that there should be no room for any misunderstanding. Accordingly, when he was here I dictated a letter to my private secretary. It was typed and handed over to him on the understanding that he will let me have his final reply in writing by 9 o'clock tonight as I made it clear to him that we had discussed the whole question threadbare, and that it was not possible for me to wait any longer, specially as I was booked to leave for Sialkot tomorrow.

"He promised to let me have his reply by 9'clock tonight. I waited for the reply and at 9-20 p.m. I rang him up saying that I had not received from him the promised reply in writing.

"Much to my surprise on telephone he informed me that he had no reply to give except what he had told me verbally.

"Thereupon I sent him a letter, same date, after this telephonic conversation between him and me at about 9-30 p.m. I sent this letter with a responsible person to make sure that it was delivered to him. When he went there Malik Khizr Hyat Khan declined to acknowledge even the receipt of the letter on a slip of paper which was sent along with the letter.

Declines to Receive Letter

"I had again to send Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, and Mumtaz Daultana, M.L.A., with the letter and the slip on which he was requested to acknowledge the receipt, but he again declined to sign the receipt and receive the letter. I had to send them a second time to deliver the letter personally to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, and endorse upon that acknowledgement slip that they had in fact delivered the letter personally to him. This was on April 27 at 11 p.m. and their endorsement runs as follows.

'We have personally delivered this letter to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 27 at 11 p.m., and he refuses to acknowledge receipt of it. Therefore, we hereby state that we have in fact delivered the letter to him personally and certify to that effect.

(Sd.) Iftikhar Hussain Khan
Mumtaz Daultana,

"Malik Khizr Hyat Khan has neither answered my first letter of April 27, which was delivered to him personally today, nor my second letter of which he refused to acknowledge the receipt giving final reply in writing as to what Sir Chhotu Ram, Sardar Baldev Singh and he himself had to say with regard to the proposals of ours, which now had been the subject-matter of discussion since my arrival in Lahore and had been discussed threadbare. The proposals are:

(1) that every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes his allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other party;

(2) that the present label of the coalition should be dropped, namely, 'the Unionist Party'; and

(3) that the name of the proposed coalition should be the Muslim League Coalition Party.

"As Malik Khizr Hyat has not replied to me yet—00.30 hours—it is now for the Muslim League to decide what course of action they should take."

Text of Jinnah's Letter

The following is the text of the letter delivered personally by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan

"Dear Malik Khizr Hyat Khan,

We have had prolonged discussions, and I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me know your final decision with regard to the three points (mentioned above).

Please let me know to what extent Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh agree with all these three proposals or any of them, and also whether you agree with all these three proposals of any of them. I hope that you will let me have your reply by this evening as it is not possible to wait any longer.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah."

The following is the text of the second letter addressed by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan which the Nawab of Mamdot and Mr. Mumtaz Daultana went to deliver to the Premier :

"Dear Malik Khizr Hyat Khan,

You promised to send me your reply to my letter dated April 27 which was given to you this afternoon, by 9 o'clock at the latest tonight and I waited for it and rang you up that I was waiting for a reply because it was nearly 9-20 p.m. I received an answer from you that you have no reply to give ex-

cept what you told me verbally. That is going back on your promise to give me your reply in writing. You said so many things verbally to me that it was impossible to know what your position was.

I once more request you to give me your reply in writing, and if I do not hear from you immediately in reply to this letter I shall conclude that you do not accept the three proposals or any of them that were made in my letter, and in view of this the Muslim League now will have to decide as to what course of action they should adopt.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah"

1944

176. Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence, September 1944. Quaid's letter, 10th September.

With reference to our talk yesterday (September 9), understood from you that you had come to discuss a Hindu-Muslim settlement with me in your individual capacity, and not in any representative character or capacity, on behalf of Hindus or the Congress; nor had you any authority to do so. I naturally pointed out to you that there must be someone on the other side with authority holding a representative status with whom I can negotiate and, if possible, come to a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question, and that for the position you had adopted there was no precedent, and that this raises great difficulties in my way.

As you know, I can only speak on behalf of Muslim India and the All-India Muslim League, as the President of the organisation which I represent, and as such I am subject to and governed by its constitution, rules and regulations. I think you realise and will admit that a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question is the foremost and major hurdle, and unless representatives of these two nations put their heads together, how is one to make any headway with it?

Lahore Resolution

Nevertheless, I explained to you the Lahore resolution of March 1940, and tried to persuade you to accept the basic and fundamental principles embodied in it, but you not only refused to consider it, but emphasised your opposition to the basis indicated in that resolution and remarked that there was "an ocean between you and me". When I asked you what was then the alternative you suggested, you put forward the formula of Mr. Rajagopalachari approved by you. We discussed it, and as various matters were vague and nebulous, and some required clarification, I wanted to have a clear idea of what it really meant and what were its implications, and asked you for explanation and clarification regarding the proposals embodied in that formula.

After some discussion, you requested me to formulate in writing my points that I thought required, or called for, an explanation and clarification and to communicate with you, and that you would reply in writing before our next meeting on Monday, September 11, at 5-30 p.m. I am, therefore, submitting to you the following points which require clarification:

(1) With regard to the preamble: in what capacity will you be a consenting party, if any agreement is reached between you and me?

(2) Clause 1. With regard to the constitution for a free India referred to in this clause, I should like to know first —what constitution do you refer to, who will frame it and when will it come into being?

Independence Demand

Next, it is stated in the formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence". Does it mean the Congress demand for independence as formulated in the August resolution of 1942 by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of

this term, for you know the Muslim League has made it clear not only by its resolutions but by its creed, which is embodied in its constitution, that we stand for the freedom and independence of the whole of this subcontinent, and that applies to Pakistan and Hindustan?

Next, it is stated that the Muslim League "will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period". I should like to know the basis or the lines on which such a government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it.

The Plebiscite

(3) Clause 2. Who will appoint the commission referred to in this clause and who will give effect to their findings? What is the meaning of "absolute majority" referred to in it? Will the contemplated plebiscite be taken district-wise or, if not, on what basis? Who will determine and decide whether such a plebiscite should be based on adult franchise or other practicable franchise? Who will give effect to the decision or verdict of the above-mentioned plebiscite? Would only the districts on the border, which are taken out from the boundaries of the present provinces by delimitation, be entitled to choose to join either state, or would also those outside the present boundaries have the right to choose to join either state?

(4) Clause 3. Who are meant by "all parties" in this clause?

(5) Clause 4. I should like to know between whom and through what machinery and agency will the "mutual agreements" referred to in this clause be entered into? What is meant by "safeguarding defence, commerce, communications and for other essential purposes?" Safeguarding against whom?

(6) Clause 5. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the

Government of India. I should like to know to whom is this power to be transferred, through what machinery and agency and when?

These are some of the important points that occur to me for the moment, which require explanation and clarification, and I hope that you will let me have full details about the various points that I have raised—in order that I may be better able to understand and judge your proposals before I can deal with them satisfactorily."

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 11th September

"I received your letter yesterday at 3-30 p.m. I was in the midst of appointments. I hasten to reply at the earliest opportunity.

I have said in my letter to you, it is implied in the Rajaji's formula and I have stated publicly that I have approached you as an individual. My life-mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling Power being ousted.

Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too, I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together.

I am glad, therefore, that you did not break off our talks when I refused to assume or accept representative capacity. Of course, I am pledged to use all the influence I may have with the Congress to ratify my agreement with you. May I remind you that the Rajaji's formula was designed in the first instance for your acceptance and submission thereafter to the League?

It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore resolution of

the League. The Lahore resolution is indefinite. Rajaji has taken from it the substance and given it shape.

The Points Answered

Now for the points raised by you:

I. I have already answered this in the foregoing.

2. The constitution will be framed by the provisional government contemplated in the formula or an authority specially set up by it after the British power is withdrawn. The independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands.

The basis for the formation of the provisional interim government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress.

3. The commission will be appointed by the provisional government. 'Absolute majority' means a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. The form of plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion.

4. "All parties" means parties interested.

5. "Mutual agreement" means agreement between contracting parties. "Safeguarding defence, etc", means for me a central or joint board of control. 'Safeguarding' means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy.

6. The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the provisional government. The formula contemplates peaceful transfer by the British Government. So far as I am concerned, I should like the transfer to take place as early as possible."

Quaid's letter, 11th September

"I received your letter of September 11 at 5 p.m. today. I note that you have approached me as an individual and I have already expressed my views about it. Please do not take it that I acquiesce in the position that you have adopted for which there is no precedent. Nevertheless, I proceeded to discuss matters with you because, naturally, I am anxious to convert you to my point of view, if possible. I urged you that the only solution of India's problem is to accept the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan, as briefly laid down in the Lahore resolution of March 1940, and proceed to settle details forthwith.

You say the Lahore resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I should, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is indefinite. I cannot agree that Rajaji has taken from it its substance and given it a shape. On the contrary, he has not only put it out of shape but mutilated it, as I explained in my speech which I delivered at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on July 30.

You say the "first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together".

This, in my opinion, is, as I have repeatedly said, putting the cart before the horse, and is generally opposed to the policy and declarations of the All-India Muslim League. You are only holding on firmly to the August resolution of 1942.

In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the peoples of India it is essential, in the first instance, that

there should be a Hindu-Muslim settlement. Of course, I am thankful to you when you say that you are pledged to use all the influence that you have with the Congress to ratify your agreement with me, but that is not enough in my judgment, although it will be a very valuable help to me.

Interim Government

I once more ask you to please let me know what is your conception of the basis for the formation of a provisional interim government. No doubt, it will be subject to agreement between the League and the Congress, but I think in fairness you should at least give me some rough idea or lines of your conception, for you must have thought it out by now. I should also like to know what are your proposals or scheme for the formation of a provisional interim government, which can give me some clear picture to understand it.

You have omitted to answer my question as to who will give effect to the findings of the commission, and also it is not clear to me what you mean by absolute majority, when you say it means "a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province". You have not even replied to my question as to who will decide the form of the plebiscite and the franchise contemplated by the formula.

The answer to the fourth point does not carry any clear idea when you say "all parties" means parties interested.

Contracting Parties

You say "mutual agreement" means agreement between contracting parties. Who are the contracting parties, once a provisional interim government is established of your conception? Who will appoint the central or joint board of control which will safeguard defence, etc., and on what principle, through what machinery and subject to whose control and orders?

You say, "the power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the provisional government". That is all the greater reason why I like to know full details of the provisional government as contemplated by your conception."

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 14th September.

"I have your letter of September 13. I understood from your talks that you were in no hurry for my answer. I was, therefore, taking the matter in a leisurely fashion, even hoping that as our talks proceeded and as cordiality increased, mutual clarification would come of itself, and that we would only have to record our final agreement. But I understand and appreciate the other viewpoint. We should take nothing for granted. I should clarify your difficulties in understanding the Rajaji's formula, and you should do likewise regarding yours, i.e., the Muslim League Lahore resolution of 1940.

With reference to the Lahore resolution, as agreed between us, I shall deal with it in a separate letter. Perhaps at the end of our discussion we shall discover that Rajaji's not only has not put the Lahore resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form. Indeed, in view of your dislike of the Rajaji's formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind, and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement. So much for the first paragraph of your letter.

As to the second. I do hold that unless we oust the third party we shall not be able to live at peace with one another. That does not mean that I may not make an effort to find ways and means of establishing a living peace between us.

You ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind. I imagine that if we two agree it would be for us to consult other parties. I can say this, that any provisional government to inspire confidence at the present moment must

represent all parties. When that moment arrives I shall have been replaced by some authoritative person, though you will have me always at your beck and call when you have converted me or I you, or by mutual conversion we have become one mind functioning through two bodies.

As to the third point, the provisional government being the appointing authority will give effect to the findings of the commission. This I thought was implied in my previous answer.

Absolute Majority

Rajaji tells me that "absolute majority" is used in his formula in the same sense as it is used in ordinary legal parlance wherever more than two groups are dealt with. I cling to my own answer. But you will perhaps suggest a third meaning and persuade me to accept it.

The form of the plebiscite and franchise must be left to be decided by the provisional interim government unless we decide it now. I should say it should be by adult suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Pakistan area.

As to the fourth, all parties means you and I and everyone else holding views on the question at issue will, and should, seek by peaceful persuasion to influence public opinion as is done where democracy functions wholly or in part.

As to the fifth, supposing that the result of the plebiscite is in favour of partition, the provisional government will draft a treaty and agreements regarding the administration of matters of common interest, but it will have to be confirmed and ratified by the governments of the two states. The machinery required for the settlement and administration of matters of common interest will, in the first instance, be planned by the interim government, but will subsequently be a matter for settlement between the two governments acting through the agencies appointed by each for that purpose.

As to the sixth, I hope the foregoing makes any further reply superfluous."

Quaid's letter, 14th September.

"I received your letter of September 14, at 4-45 p.m. today in reply to my letter of September 11 (and not of September 13, as you state, which seems to be a mistake), and I thank you for it.

Please let me have as soon as you can your promised letter indicating in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is 'indefinite'.

With regard to the provision in the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence", I asked you in my letter dated September 10, "Does it mean the Congress demand for independence as formulated in the August 1942 resolution by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term?" To this you replied by your letter of September 11, "The independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands." Hence I again ask: "Does it mean on the basis of a united India?" I find that you have not clarified the point satisfactorily.

Transitional Period

As regards the next part of this clause, the formula proceeds to lay down that "the Muslim League will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period". I requested you in my letter of September 10, to let me know "the basis or the lines on which such a government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it". To this you replied in your letter of September 11, under reply that "the basis for the formation of a provisional interim government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress".

But that is not meeting my request for clarification or giving me at least the outlines of such a government and that is what I have been asking for. I hope that you do appreciate my point when I am requesting you to let me have rough outlines of the proposed provisional interim government according to the formula, so that I may have some idea.

Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional interim government will represent all parties and would be of a character that will inspire confidence at the present moment of all parties. I can quite understand that when the moment arrives certain things may follow, but before we can deal with this formula in a satisfactory manner I repeat again that, as it is your formula, you should give me a rough idea of the provisional interim government that you contemplate and of your conception.

What I should like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional interim government, how will it be formed, to whom will it be responsible, and what will be its composition, etc? You, being the sponsor of this formula, should give me some rough idea and picture of it; so that I may understand what this part of the formula means.

In your letter of September 14, in reply to my letter of September 11, you inform me that you would have told me if you had any scheme in mind. "I imagine that if we two can agree it would be for us to consult other parties". But that is just the point. Unless I have some outlines or scheme, however rough, from you, what are we to discuss in order to reach any agreement?

As regards the other matters which you have further explained, I have noted the explanation, and I do not think I need press you further, although some of them are not quite satisfactory".

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 15th September.

I have yours of September 14, received at 9-40 a.m. I woke up at 3 a.m. today to finish my promised letter on the

Lahore resolution. There is no mistake about the date, for I wrote in answer to your reminder of September 13.

Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. resolution of 1942. But it cannot be on the basis of a united India. If we come to a settlement it would be on the basis of that settlement, assuming, of course, that it secures general acceptance in the country. The process will be somewhat like this. We reach by joint effort independence for India as it stands. India become free, will proceed to demarcation, plebiscite and partition if the people concerned vote for partition. All this is implied in the Rajaji's formula.

As to the provisional interim government I am afraid I cannot carry my answer any further than I have done. Though I have no scheme for such a government, if you have one in connection with the Lahore resolution, which also I presume requires an interim government, we can discuss it.

Framed In Good Faith

The formula was framed by Rajaji in good faith. I accepted it in equal good faith. The hope was that you would look at it with favour. We still think it to be the best in the circumstances. You and I have to put flesh on it, if we can. I have explained the process we have to go through. You have no objection to it. Perhaps, you want to know how I would form the provisional government if I was invited to form it. If I was in that unenviable position I would see all claimants and endeavour to satisfy them. My co-operation will be available in the task.

I can give you full satisfaction about your inquiry, "what I should like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional interim government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible". The provisional interim government will be responsible to the elected members of the

present Assembly or a newly-elected one. It will have all powers minus that of the Commander-in-Chief during the war and full powers thereafter. It will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the League and the Congress and ratified by other parties".

Quaid's letter, dated 17th September.

I have your letter of September 15, and I thank you for it. I note that you have for the moment shunted off the Rajaji's formula and are applying your mind very seriously to the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League. It is my duty to explain the Lahore resolution to you today and persuade you to accept it, even though you are talking to me, as you have often made it clear, in your individual capacity.

I have successfully converted non-Muslim Indians in no small number and also a large body of foreigners, and if I can convert you, exercising as you do tremendous influence over Hindu India, it will be no small assistance to me, although we are not proceeding on the footing that you are carrying on these talks in your representative character or capacity, and my difficulties remain until you are vested with a representative status and authority in order to negotiate and reach an agreement with you.

You have stated in your letter, dated September 11, that the Lahore resolution is "indefinite". I, therefore, naturally asked you to please let me know in what way or respect the Lahore resolution was indefinite, and now I have received our letter of September 15 under reply.

A Disquisition

The third paragraph of your letter is not seeking clarification but is a disquisition and expression of your views on the point whether Mussalmans are a nation. This matter can hardly be discussed by means of correspondence. There is a great deal of discussion and literature on this point which is

available, and it is for you to judge finally, when you have studied this question thoroughly, whether Mussalmans and Hindus are not two major nations in this subcontinent. For the moment I would refer you to two publications although there are many more. Dr. Ambedkar's book and M.R.T.'s Nationalism in Conflict in India.

We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation.

Now I shall reply to your various points:

(1) Yes, the word "Pakistan" is not mentioned in the resolution and it does not bear the original meaning. The word has now become synonymous with the Lahore resolution.

(2) This point does not arise, but still I reply that the question is a mere bogey.

(3) This point is covered by my answer that the Mussalmans of India are a nation. As to the last part of your query, it is hardly relevant to the matter of clarification of the resolution.

(4) Surely, you know what the word "Muslims" means.

(5) This point does not arise by way of clarification of the text of the Lahore resolution.

(6) No. They will form units of Pakistan.

(7) As soon as the basis and the principles embodied in the Lahore resolution are accepted, the question of demarcation will have to be taken up immediately.

(8) In view of my reply to (7), your question (8) has been answered.

(9) Does not relate to clarification.

(10) My answer to (9) covers this point.

(11) Does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution. Surely, this is not asking for clarification of the resolution. I have in numerous speeches of mine, and the Muslim League in its resolutions have pointed out that this is the only solution of India's problem and the road to achieve freedom and independence of the peoples of India.

(12) "Muslims under the Princes". The Lahore resolution is only confined to British India. This question does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution.

(13) The definition of 'minorities'. You yourself have often said 'minorities' means accepted minorities.

(14) The "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" for minorities referred to in the resolution are a matter for negotiation and settlement with the minorities in the respective States, viz., Pakistan and Hindustan.

(15) It does give basic principles and when they are accepted, then details will have to be worked out by the contracting parties.

(a) and (b) Does not arise by way of clarification.

(c) The Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India.

(d) No. See answer (c)

As regards your final paragraph, before receiving clarification from me have already passed your judgement and condemned the Lahore resolution when you say, "As I write this letter and imagine the working of the resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India". I understand that you have made clear to me that you represent nobody but yourself, and I am trying to persuade you and to convert you that this is the road which will lead us all to the achievement of freedom and independence not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India.

But when you proceed to say that you aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, I regret I cannot accept that statement of yours. It is quite clear that you represent nobody else but Hindus, and as long as you do not realise your true position and realities, it is very difficult for me to argue with you, and it becomes still more difficult to persuade you, and hope to convert you to the realities and the actual conditions prevailing in India today.

I am pleading before you in the hope of converting you, as I have done with many others successfully. As I have said before, you are a great man and you exercise enormous influence over Hindus, particularly the masses, and by accepting the road that I am pointing out to you, you are not prejudicing or harming the interests of Hindus or of minorities. On the contrary, Hindus will be the greater gainers.

I am convinced that the true welfare not only of Muslims but of the rest of India lies in the division of India as proposed in the Lahore resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your policy and programme in which you have persisted that has been the principal factor of the "ruin of the whole of India" and of misery and degradation of the people to which you refer and which I deplore no less than anyone else. And it is for that very reason I am pleading before you all these days, although you insist that you are having talks with

me only in your individual capacity, in the hope that you yet revise your policy and programme."

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 19th September.

Many thanks for yours of September 17.

I am sorry to have to say that your answers omitting (1), (2) and (6) do not give satisfaction.

It may be that all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore resolution. But I contend that they are very relevant from the standpoint of a seeker that I am. You cannot expect any one to agree to, or shoulder the burden of, the claim contained in the Lahore resolution without, for instance, answering questions 15 (a) and (b) which you brush aside as not arising by way of clarification.

Dr. Ambedkar's thesis, while it is ably written, has carried no conviction to me. The other book mentioned by you, I am sorry to say, I have not seen.

My Aspiration

Why can you not accept my statement that I aspire to represent all sections that compose the peoples of India? Do you not aspire? Should not every Indian? That the aspiration may never be realised is beside the point.

I am beholden to you, in spite of your opinion about me, for having patience with me. I hope you will never lose it but will perservere in your effort to convert me. I ask you to take me with my strong views and even prejudices, if I am guilty of any.

As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For I am wholly unrepentant. My purpose is, as a lover of communal unity, to place my services at your disposal.

I hope you do not expect me to accept the Lahore resolution without understanding its implications. If your letter is the final word, there is little hope. Can we not agree to differ on the question of "Two nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination? It is this basis that has brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore resolution the grave step of separation should be specifically placed before and approved by the people of that area.

Quaid-e-Azam's letter, dated 21st September.

I am in receipt of your letter of September 19, and I have already given you my answers to all your questions relating to clarification of the Lahore resolution or any part of it, and I am glad that you admit when you say it may be that "all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore resolution". But you particularly emphasise your points 15 (a) and (b). I regret to say they have no relation to the context of the resolution or any part thereof. You have brought so many matters into our correspendence which are entirely outside the matter requiring clarification; so I have perforce to deal with them. Let me first deal with your letter of September 11.

You say, "My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together".

The gist of your letters up to date is that you are wedded to this policy and will pursue it. In your next letter of September 14, while you were good enough to furnish me with the clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, you were pleased to observe: "I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out

of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement". In your letter of September 15, you say, "Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. resolution of 1942".

It is, therefore, clear that you are not prepared to revise your policy. You adhere firmly to your policy and programme which you have persisted in and which culminated in your demand, final policy, programme and the method and sanction for enforcing it by resorting to mass civil disobedience in terms of the August (1942) resolution, and you have made it more clear again by stating in your letter of September 19: "As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant".

You know that the August (1942) resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. Then again in the course of our discussion in which I asked you for clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji's formula, you were pleased to say in your letter of September 15: "For the moment I have shunted off the Rajaji's formula and, with your assistance, am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League".

Open To Persuasion

We discussed it in its various aspects, as you told me you were open to be persuaded and converted to my point of view. I discussed the resolution at great length with you, and explained everything you wanted to understand, even though you have emphasised more than once that you are having these talks with me in your personal capacity, and in your letter of September 15 you assured me in the following words with regard to the Lahore resolution: "Believe me, I approach you as a seeker, though I represent nobody but myself", and that you were open to conviction and conversion.

You had informed me in your letter of September 11, as follows: "It is true that I said an ocean separated you and

me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore resolution of the League. The League resolution is indefinite". I therefore, naturally proceeded in reply to ask you in my letter of September 11: "You say the Lahore resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I should, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is indefinite". I sent you a reminder on September 13, to which you replied by your letter of September 15 not confining yourself really to matters of clarification, but introducing other extraneous matters with some of which I had already dealt in reply to this letter of yours of September 15 in my letter of September 17, and furnished you with all clarifications, informing you that you had introduced several matters which could hardly be discussed in a satisfactory manner by means of correspondence.

Misconception

I have already given you all the clarifications you require so far as the Lahore resolution goes and its text is concerned. You again raise further arguments, reasons and grounds and continue to persist in a disquisition on the point, amongst others, whether the Muslims of India are a nation, and then you proceed further to say: "Can we not agree to differ on the question of 'Two nations' and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination?"

It seems to me that you are labouring under some misconception of the word "self-determination". Apart from the inconsistencies and contradictions of the various positions that you have adopted in the course of our correspondence, as indicated abve, can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit, and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation, which is our birthright? Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that "self-determination" means only that of "a territorial unit" which

by the way, is neither demarcated nor defined yet, and there is no union or federal constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign central government.

Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of a settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing union. The right of self-determination which we claim postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of Muslims, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right.

No Common Interest

I hope you will now understand that your question 15 (a) does not arise out of the Lahore resolution or of any part thereof. As to 15 (b) again it does not arise as a matter of clarification, for it will be a matter for the constitution-making body chosen by Pakistan to deal with and decide all matters as a sovereign Pakistan vis-a-vis the constitution-making body of Hindustan or any other party concerned. There cannot be defence and similar matters of "common concern", when it is accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan will be two separate independent sovereign states.

I hope I have now given all satisfactory explanations, over and above the matter of clarification of the Lahore resolution, in the hope of converting you as an individual "seeker".

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 22nd September.

Your letter of September 21 so disturbed me that I thought I would postpone my reply till after we had met at the usual time. Though I made no advance at our meeting, I think I see somewhat clearly what you are driving at. The more I think about the two-nation theory, the more alarming it appears to me. The book recommended by you gives me no help. It contains half truths and its conclusions or inferences are unwarranted.

I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. Mere assertion is no proof. The consequences of accepting such a proposition are dangerous in the extreme. Once the principle is admitted, there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions which would spell India's ruin. I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be.

You seem to be averse to a plebiscite. In spite of the admitted importance of the League, there must be clear proof that the people affected desire partition. In my opinion all the people inhabiting the area ought to express their opinion specifically on this single issue of division. Adult suffrage is the best method, but I would accept any other equivalent.

No Security

You summarily reject the idea of common interest between the two arms. I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security among the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity.

Your letter shows a wide divergence of opinion and outlook between us. Thus you adhere to the opinion often expressed by you that the August 1942 resolution is "inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India". There is no proof for this sweeping statement.

We seem to be moving in a circle. I have made a suggestion. If we are bent on agreeing, as I hope we are, let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us.

Quaid's letter, 23rd September.

I am in receipt of your letter of September 22 and thank you for it. I am sorry that you think I have summarily rejected the idea of common interest between two arms, and now you put it somewhat differently from 15 (a) when you say there will be no feeling of security among the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity. My answer, already given, is that it will be for the constitution-making bodies of Pakistan and Hindustan or any other party concerned, to deal with such matters on the footing of their being two independent states.

August Resolution

I am really surprised when you say there is no proof of what you characterise as sweeping statement of mine that the August 1942 resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. The resolution in its essence is as follows:

(a) Immediate grant of complete independence and setting up immediately of a federal central government on the basis of a united democratic Government of India with federated units of provinces, which means establishing a Hindu raj.

(b) That this 'National' Government so set up will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly, which will be chosen by adult franchise, which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India, which means that the constituent assembly chosen will be composed of an overwhelming majority of Hindus, nearly 75 per cent.

(c) To enforce this demand of the Congress the August resolution decides on and sanctions a resort to mass civil disobedience at your command and when ordered by you as the sole dictator of the Congress.

This demand is basically and fundamentally opposed to the ideals and demands of Muslim India of Pakistan, as

embodied in the Lahore resolution, and to enforce such a demand by means of a resort to mass civil disobedience is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. If you succeed in realising this demand, it would be a death-blow to Muslim India. I see from the correspondence and talks between you and me that you are still holding fast to this fateful resolution.

From the very first day of our talks you made it clear to me, and you have repeatedly said in the course of our correspondence and talks that you have approached me in your individual capacity and you assured me that you were a seeker of light and knowledge and that you seriously and earnestly wanted to understand the Lahore resolution and were open to conviction and conversion. In deference to your wishes, therefore, I made every effort all these days, and in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence, to convert you, but unfortunately it seems I have failed. And now you have made new suggestions and proposals in your letter under reply.

(1) You say, "I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be". I really do not know what this means, and I should like you to elaborate this proposal and give me some rough outlines of this new idea of yours, as to how and when the division is to take place and in what way it is different from the division envisaged by the Lahore resolution.

(2) You say, "Let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us". May I point out that you have repeatedly made clear to me that you are having these talks as an individual seeker? How can any question of a third party or parties to guide or arbitrate between us arise?

Mr. Gandhi's letter, dated 23rd September.

Last evening's talk has left a bad taste in the mouth. Our talks and our correspondence seem to run in parallel lines and never touch one another. We reached the breaking point last evening, but, thank God, we were unwilling to part. We

resumed discussion and suspended it in order to allow me to keep my time for the evening public prayer.

In order that all possibility of making any mistake in a matter of this great importance may be removed I should like you to give me in writing what precisely on your part you would want me to put my signature to.

I adhere to my suggestion that we may call in some outside's assistance to help us at this stage.

Quaid's letter, 23rd September.

I am in receipt of your letter of September 23. May I refer you to my letter of today's date which I sent to you in reply to yours of September 22. I have nothing new or fresh to add, but I may say that it is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representing anybody till you clothe yourself with representative capacity and are vested with authority.

We stand by, as I have already said, the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution of March 1940. I appeal to you once more to revise your policy and programme, as the future of this subcontinent and the welfare of the peoples of India demand that you should face realities.

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 24th September.

I have your two letters of September 23, in reply to my letters of September 22 and 23.

With you assistance, I am exploring all possibilities of reaching an agreement, so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied. You must, therefore, have no apprehensions that the August resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement. That resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement.

I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations, but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zone, i.e., Baluchistan, Sind the North-West Frontier Province and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore of 1940 on my basis and on the following terms :

The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can, therefore, be constituted into two sovereign independent states.

There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communication, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms of safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two states.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate.

If you do not agree to these terms, could you let me know in precise terms what you would have me to accept in terms of the Lahore Resolution and bind myself to recommend to the Congress? If you could kindly do that I shall be able to see, apart from the difference in approach, what definite terms I can agree to. In your letter of September 23 you refer to "the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution" and ask me to accept them. Surely, this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequences that should follow from such acceptance.

Quaid's letter, 25th September.

I am in receipt of your letter of September 24, and I thank you for it. You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution.

(1) You do not accept that the Muslims of India are a nation.

(2) You do not accept that the Muslims have an inherent right of self-determination.

(3) You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right of theirs for self-determination.

(4) You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore resolution. The matter of demarcating and defining the territories can be taken up after the fundamentals mentioned above are accepted, and for that purpose machinery may be set up by agreement.

You do not accept the provisions embodied in the Lahore resolution for safeguarding minorities, and yet in your letter under reply you say, "With your assistance, I am exploring all possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied," and proceed to add: "You must, therefore, have no apprehensions that the August resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement".

Bar To Settlement

I have already clearly explained to you that the August resolution so long as it stands, is a bar, for it is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore resolution. You then proceed to say "that resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement". I am not at present concerned with Britain, but the August resolution, which, as I have already stated, is against the ideals and demands of the Muslim League.

Further, there is the resolution of Jagat Narayan Lal, passed by the All-India Congress Committee in May, 1942 at Allahabad, which, in express terms, lays down: "The A-I.C.C. is of the opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian union or federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of different states and provinces and the country as a whole, and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal".

These two resolutions, so long as they stand, are a complete bar to any settlement on the basis of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan. It is open to the Congress to revise and modify them, but you are only speaking in your individual capacity, and even in that capacity you are holding fast to the August resolution and have given no indication of your attitude regarding Jagat Narayan Lal's resolution.

I have repeatedly made it clear, after we had discussed the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, as you maintained, that, to use

your own language, "Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form", and proceeded to say, "Indeed, in view of your dislike of the Rajaji's formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement".

Representative Capacity

When I asked for further clarification, which you furnished me in your letter of September 15, you started by saying, "I have shunted off the Rajaji's formula and, with your assistance, I am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League". Thenceforward the Gandhi-Rajaji formula was not discussed any further, and the question of your representative character and authority, which I had pointed out from the very beginning, therefore, did not arise, as you had given me the task of converting you to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution, and ever since we discussed the Lahore resolution only at great length and examined the pros and cons, and finally you have rejected it.

As a result of our correspondence and discussions, I find that the question of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips, and it does not come from your heart, and suddenly at the eleventh hour you put forward a new suggestion consisting only of two sentences—in your letter of September 22, saying: "I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be".

I naturaly asked you what this new suggestion of yours means, and wanted you to give me rough outlines of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place and in what way it is different from the division envisaged in the Lahore resolution, and now you have been good enough to give me your amplification, in your letter of September 24, under reply, in which you say: "Differing from you

on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore (1940) on my basis and on the following terms".

Vital Conflict

The terms clearly indicate that your basis is in vital conflict with, and is opposed to, the fundamental basis and principles of the Lahore resolution. Now let me take your main terms:

(a) "I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom Muslims living in the north-west zone, i.e., Baluchistan, Sind, the North-West Frontier and the part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India". If this term were accepted and given effect to, the present boundaries of these provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk and it is opposed to the Lahore resolution.

(b) That even in these mutilated areas so defined, the right of self-determination will not be exercised by Muslims, but by the inhabitants of these areas so demarcated. This again is opposed to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution.

(c) That if the vote is in favour of separation they shall be allowed to "form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination". Whereas we propose that we should come to a complete settlement of our own immediately, and by our united front and efforts do everything in our power to secure the freedom and independence of the peoples of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan.

(d) Next you say: "There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory

administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties". If these vital matters are to be administered by some central authority you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer them, and how and to whom, again, that authority will be responsible. According to the Lahore resolution, as I have already explained to you, all these matters, which are the life-blood of any state, cannot be delegated to any central authority or government. The matter of security of the two states and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making bodies of Pakistan and Hindustan, or the party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent states. As regards the safeguarding of the rights of minorities, I have already explained that this question of safeguarding minorities is fully stated in the Lahore resolution.

You will, therefore, see that the entire basis of your new proposal is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore resolution, and as I have already pointed out to you, both in correspondence and in our discussions, it is very difficult for me to entertain counter-proposals and negotiate and reach any agreement or settlement with you as an individual, unless they come from you in your representative capacity.

That was the same difficulty with regard to the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, and I made it clear to you at the very outset, but the formula was discussed and you asserted that it had met the Lahore resolution in substance. But while you were furnishing me with clarifications of this formula, you shunted it off and we confined ourselves to the Lahore resolution, and hence the question of your representative capacity did not arise regarding this formula.

But now you have, in your letter of September 24, made a new proposal of your own on your own basis and the same difficulties present themselves to me as before, and it is

difficult to deal with it any further, unless it comes from you in your representative capacity.

I cannot agree with you when you finally wind up by saying: "In your letter of September 23, you refer to 'the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution' and ask me, to accept them. Surely, this is necessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance."

This is obviously far from correct. Why not then accept the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution and proceed to settle details?

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 25th September.

Yesterday's talk leads me to inflict this letter on you, which I trust, you will not mind.

Our conversations have come about as a result of your correspondence with Rajaji in July last over this formula and your consultations with the League Working Committee thereon, and my own letter to you suggesting a meeting between you and me. My proposal of yesterday is an earnest effort to meet the essential requirements of the Lahore resolution.

I should like you, therefore, to think 50 times before throwing an offer which had been made entirely in the spirit of service in the cause of communal harmony. Do not take, I pray, the responsibility of rejecting the offer. Throw it on your Council. Give me an opportunity of addressing them. If they feel like rejecting it I should like you to advise the Council to put it before the open session of the League, if you will accept my advice and permit me, I would attend the open session and address it.

You are too technical when you dismiss my proposal for arbitration or outside guidance over points of difference. If I have approached you as an individual, and not in any re-

presentative capacity it is because, we believe, that if we reach an agreement with you it will be of material use in the process of securing a Congree-League settlement and acceptance of it by the country. Is it irrelevant or inadmissible to supplement our efforts to convince each other with outside help, guidance, advice or even arbitration?

Quaid's letter, 26th September.

I am in receipt of your letter of September 25. It is entirely incorrect and has no foundation in fact for you to say that our conversations have come about as a result of my correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his formula. It is equally baseless to say "and your consultations with the League Working Committee thereon".

It was entirely in response to your letter of July 17 which I received while I was at Srinagar, with a fervent request on your part to meet you, and you ended that letter by saying "Do not disappoint me". In my reply, again from Srinagar, dated July 24, I intimated to you that I would be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which would probably be about the middle of August. This was long before the meeting of the Working Committee or that of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and long before I reached Lahore.

No Precedent

When you arrived here and told me that you were approaching me in your individual capacity, I at once made it clear and informed you, both in our talks and in my letters, that the position you had taken up had no precedent for it, and further that it was not possible to negotiate and reach an agreement, unless both parties were fully represented. For it is a one-sided business, as it will not be binding upon any organisation in any sense whatever, but you would as an individual only recommend it, if any agreement is reached, to the Congress and the country, whereas it will be binding upon me as

the President of the Muslim League. I cannot accept this position. I hope you do see the unfairness and the great disadvantage to me, and it is so simple and elementary for any one to understand.

As regards your proposal of yesterday which you have simplified in your letter of September 24, I have already sent you my reply.

With regard to your suggestion to be allowed to address the meeting of the Council, and if they feel like rejecting your 'offer', the matter should be put before the open session, let me inform you that only a member or delegate is entitled to participate in the deliberation of the meeting of the Council or in the open session respectively. Besides, it is a most extraordinary and unprecedented suggestion to make. However, I thank you for your advice.

As regards your proposal for arbitration and outside guidance, I have already replied to you. It is not merely technically, but as a matter of substance I fully reciprocate your desire of securing a Congress-League settlement.

However, I regret I have failed to convince you and convert you, as I was hopeful of doing so.

Mr. Gandhi's letter, 26th September.

In view of my letter to you of yesterday, left to myself I would have refrained from dealing with your letter before our meeting today. But I have deferred to Rajaji's advice in finishing the chain of correspondence.

I confess I am unable to understand your persistent refusal to appreciate the fact that the formula presented to you by me in my letter of September 24, as well as the formula presented to you by Rajaji, give you virtually what is embodied in the Lahore resolution, providing at the same time what is absolutely necessary to make the arrangement acceptable to the country.

You keep on saying that I should accept certain thesis, while I have been contending that the best way for us who differ in our approach to the problem is to give body to the demand as it stands in the resolution and work it out to our mutual satisfaction. It is on this plan that I understand Rajaji's formula to be conceived, and it is on the same plan that I have tried to work it out in the course of and as a result of our talks.

I contend that either gives you the substance of the Lahore resolution. Unfortunately, you reject both. And I cannot accept the Lahore resolution, as you want me to especially when you seek to introduce into its interpretation theories and claims which I cannot ever hope to induce India to accept.

Your consistent references to my not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. I have approached you, so that if you and I can agree upon a common course of action I may use what influence I possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. If you break, it cannot be because I have no representative capacity or because I have been unwilling to give you satisfaction in regard to the claim embodied in the Lahore resolution.

1944

177. Letter to Quaid-e-Azam by Syed Ali Zaheer, July 1944, on behalf of the Shia Political Conference and the Quaid's reply.

July 25, 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In view of your letter addressed to S. Sakhi Husain of Amroha published in the Press and your reference to the Shia community in your speech at Sialkot, I was required by the last meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference to approach you and to request you to

elucidate and define the status of the Shias in the scheme of Pakistan, as proposed by the Muslim League. The necessity for this step has been felt because of the following among other circumstances.

Several attempts have been made to propose from the Muslim League platform that the Government in Pakistan should be modelled on the lines of the Government that prevailed in Arabia just after the Prophet's death, (i.e., Hukumul Illahiya). Although it is realised that it is not possible to put the clock back by so many years, yet it is feared that this may be an attempt to curtail the freedom of religious rights and observances which has been enjoyed by the Shia heretofore.

(b) During elections for Muslim seats, it is a very common experience of a Shia candidate, whenever he is pitched against a Sunni candidate, to find that appeal is made to the religious fanaticism of the majority of voters, and a Shia is defeated merely because he is a Shia. It is a common practice on such occasion to allege that a Shia, because of certain peculiarities of his articles of faith, is not a Muslim at all, and as such not entitled to their votes.

(c) The bitter experience which the Shias had during the regime of the Congress in U.P. of the two Congress Muslim Ministers makes them unwilling to trust themselves in future, to similar type of Muslim Ministers. They are afraid that although in Pakistan Provinces there will be no Congress Ministries yet the men who will form the Cabinet may be of the same class and type.

(d) The Shia Political Conference gives considerable importance to its creed of complete independence for India and desires to carry on the struggle for it side by side with other political bodies in the country which have the same creed. The Shias are convinced that with the freedom of the country Pakistan will also be automatcially achieved if the majority of the Mussalmans so desire.

Although I have no final authority on behalf of the Shias generally, I feel that if the Muslim League gives them the following assurances they will feel perfectly satisfied.

(1) That there will be no encroachment on their religious freedom and observances in Pakistan, and no innovations which will hurt their religious susceptibilities will be inflicted.

(2) That during elections there should be no propaganda directly against the religious beliefs or practices of a Shia, and if there is any such propaganda then irrespective of the proof whether it has affected the result of the election or not, the election will be set aside at the instance of the Shia candidate. It may be necessary to give a guarantee that the election rules will be amended to give effect to this assurance.

(3) That the Shias should be guaranteed sufficient number of seats in the Ministries, Legislatures, and all the elected bodies, as well as to all Judicial and Executive posts which should be a definite proportion of the Muslims who are appointed to these places. The proportion must necessarily vary in different Provinces, and will have to be fixed in consultation with the representatives of the Shias in these Provinces.

(4) That the Muslim League, while fighting for Pakistan, will struggle for the independence of the country as a whole, and should be willing to settle its differences with other political parties, in order that the movement for the freedom of the country may not be jeopardised. It should be realised that insistence on the attainment of Pakistan first, is likely to delay considerably both Pakistan and Independence.

I may mention in the end according to me these are the most important points which have so far kept the Shia Political Conference and the majority of the Shias outside the Muslim League. I hope that as soon as a satisfactory understanding

is arrived at on these questions there will probably be no difficulty left in the two bodies working in harmony with each other.

Yours Sincerely,
Ali Zaheer

President, All-India Shia Political Conference

Quaid-i-Azam's reply

Malabar Hill,
Bombay, 31st August, 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 25th, and I regret I cannot discuss the points raised by you through and by means of correspondence. I enclose herewith a copy of a Press report of my interview with a deputation of the Shias of the Punjab dated March 30th for your information. I am confident that the majority of Shias are with the Muslim League and such of them as are still outside the League under some sort of misapprehension, are, in my opinion, unwise in not joining the Muslim League without any reservation in the interests of the Shias as well as of Muslim India generally. The Muslim League stands for justice and fair play, and will always stand for these fundamental principles, and there is no need for the Shias to think that they will not be justly treated by the All-India Muslim League. I think it is a great disservice to the Muslim cause to create any kind of division between the Mussalmans of India, and I do not see any cause or occasion for it. Our organisation is now in a position to mete out justice to every individual and recognise the merits wherever we have any voice or power to do so and as time goes on it will grow more and more in that direction. The Muslim League cannot recognise any other political organisation. Besides, most of the points that you have raised are matters for the Mussalmans themselves to deal with internally and some of them are totally

irrelevant and are raised under a misapprehension and not in accordance with facts.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. Jinnah.

Cable from the Secretary of the Shia Conference, Lucknow, dated 3rd October, 1945.

"Our invitation for the Shia All-Party Conference is issued. Leaders' presence urgently needed. Wire consent. Sajjad Ali Khan."

Quaid-i-Azam's reply.

"Your telegram. The organisers of the Shia Conference, I regret to say, are misguided and misled by our enemies. My advice to every Shia is to join the Muslim League unreservedly at this critical juncture. The other course is harmful generally to the Muslims of India and even more detrimental to the Shia interests.

"The Muslim League and I have made it clear repeatedly that we stand for justice and fair play towards every sect of Mussalmans and non-Muslim minorities. The Muslim League is already pledged to its basic principle of freedom for all religions and sects. The Muslim League will never interfere with the faith and belief of any sect amongst Mussalmans or non-Muslims and minorities. On the contrary, the cardinal and fundamental principles of the Muslim League laid down in the Lahore resolutions of March, 1940, in clear terms, provides for effective safeguards and the protection of minorities and their religious rights of freedom. An overwhelming majority of Shias are with the League and legitimate grievances, if any, are a matter of our own internal concern, and can be dealt within our fold by the All-India Muslim League."

1944

178. Iqbal Day message of the Quaid-e-Azam, 9th December, 1944.

To the cherished memory of our National Poet Iqbal, I pay my homage on this day, which is being celebrated in commemoration of that great poet, sage, philosopher and thinker, and I pray to God Almighty that his soul may rest in eternal peace. Amen!

Though he is not amongst us, his verse, immortal as it is, is always there to guide us and to inspire us. His poetry, besides being beautiful in form and sweet in language, presents to us a picture of the mind and heart of this great poet, and we find how deeply he was devoted to the teachings of Islam. He was a true and faithful follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him)—a Muslim first and a Muslim last. He was the interpreter and voice of Islam.

Iqbal was not merely a preacher and a philosopher. He stood for courage and action, perseverance and self-reliance, and above all faith in God and devotion to Islam. In his person were combined the idealism of the poet and the realism of the man who takes a practical view of things. Faith in God and unceasing and untiring action is the essence of his message. And in this he emerges truly Islamic. He has an unflinching faith in Islamic principles, and success in life meant to him the realisation of one's 'self', and to achieve this end the only means was to follow the teachings of Islam. His message to humanity is action and realisation of one's self.

Although a great poet and philosopher, he was no less a practical politician. With his firm conviction of and faith in the ideals of Islam, he was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India such an Islamic state in the North-West and North-East Zones which are historical homelands of Muslims.

I whole-heartedly associate myself with the celebration of this "Iqbal Day", and pray that we may live up to the ideals preached by our national poet so that we may be able to achieve and give a practical shape to these ideals in our sovereign state of Pakistan when established.

1945

179. Radio broadcast by Lord Wavell, as Viceroy of India on 14th June, 1945.

I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of central and provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed, under the existing constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realise, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover Members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be:

First, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make

it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal lodge to advise me:

Those now holding office as Premier in a provincial Government; or for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier.

The leader of the Congress Party and the deputy leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes.

Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on 25th June at Simla, where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministerics to

reassume office and again undertake the tasks of government in the provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue it if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of workng with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new central Government, if formed, and to the provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the central and provincial legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depends on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present, thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at international conferences have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and, as far as in me lies, will further her greatness. I ask you all for your cooperation and goodwill.

1945

180. Statement by Mr. L. S. Amery on 14th June, 1945, in the House of Commons, in his capacity as the Secretary of State for India.

1. During the recent visit of Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell to this country His Majesty's Government reviewed with him a number of problems and discussed particularly the present political situation in India.

2. Members will be aware that since the offer by His Majesty's Government to India in March 1942 there has been no further progress towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem.

3. As was then stated, the working out of India's new constitutional system is a task which can only be carried through by the Indian peoples themselves.

4. While His Majesty's Government are at all times most anxious to do their utmost to assist the Indians in the working out of a new constitutional settlement, it would be a contradiction in terms to speak of the imposition by this coun-

try of self-governing institutions upon an unwilling India. Such a thing is not possible, nor could we accept the responsibility for enforcing such institutions at the very time when we were, by its purpose, withdrawing from all control of British-Indian affairs.

5. The main constitutional position remains therefore as it was. The offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety without change or qualification. His Majesty's Government still hope that the political leaders in India may be able to come to an agreement as to the procedure whereby India's permanent future form of government can be determined.

6. His Majesty's Government are, however, most anxious to make any contribution that is practicable to the breaking of the political deadlock in India. While that deadlock lasts not only political but social and economic progress is being hampered.

7. The Indian administration, over-burdened with the great tasks laid upon it by the war against Japan and by the planning for the post-war period, is further strained by the political tension that exists.

8. All that is so urgently required to be done for agricultural and industrial development and for the peasants and workers of India cannot be carried through unless the whole-hearted co-operation of every community and section of the Indian people is forthcoming.

9. His Majesty's Government have therefore considered whether there is something which they would suggest in this interim period, under the existing constitution, pending the formulation by Indians of their future constitutional arrangements which would enable the main communities and parties to co-operate more closely together and with the British to the benefit of the people of India as a whole.

10. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities. But they are willing to make possible some step forward during the interim period if the leaders of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestions and to co-operate in the successful conclusion of the war against Japan as well as in the reconstruction in India which must follow the final victory.

11. To this end they would be prepared to see an important change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive. This is possible without making any change in the existing statute law, except for one amendment to the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935. That Schedule contains a provision that not less than three members of the Executive must have had at least 10 years' service under the Crown in India. If the proposals I am about to lay before the House meet with acceptance in India, that clause would have to be amended to dispense with that requirement.

12. It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus.

13. In order to pursue this object, the Viceroy will call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians, who are the heads of the most important parties, or who have had recent experience as Prime Ministers of provinces, together with a few others of special experience and authority. The Viceroy intends to put before this conference the proposal that the Executive Council should be reconstituted as above stated and to invite from the members of the conference a list of names. Out of these he would hope to be able to choose the future members whom he would recommend for appointment by His Majesty to the Viceroy's Council, although the responsi-

bility for the recommendations must of course continue to rest with him, and his freedom of choice therefore remains unrestricted.

14. The members of his Council who are chosen as a result of this arrangement would of course accept the position on the basis that they would wholeheartedly co-operate in supporting and carrying through the war against Japan to its victorious conclusion.

15. The members of the Executive would be Indians with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. This is essential so long as the defence of India remains a British responsibility.

16. Nothing contained in any of these proposals will affect the relations of the Crown with the Indian States through the Viceroy as Crown Representative.

17. The Viceroy has been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place this proposal before the Indian leaders. His Majesty's Government trust that the leaders of the Indian communities will respond. For the success of such a plan must depend upon its acceptance in India and the degree to which responsible Indian politicians are prepared to co-operate with the object of making it a workable interim arrangement. In the absence of such general acceptance, existing arrangements must necessarily continue.

18. If such co-operation can be achieved at the Centre it will no doubt be reflected in the provinces, and so enable responsible Governments to be set up once again in those provinces where, owing to the withdrawal of the majority party from participation, it became necessary to put into force the powers of the Governors under Section 93 of the Act of 1935. It is to be hoped that in all the provinces these Governments would be based on the participation of the main parties, thus

smoothing out communal differences and allowing Ministers to concentrate upon their very heavy administrative tasks.

19. There is one further change which, if these proposals are accepted, His Majesty's Government suggest should follow.

20. That is, that external affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad.

21. By their acceptance of and co-operation in this scheme, the Indian leaders will not only be able to make their immediate contribution to the direction of Indian affairs, but it is also to be hoped that their experience of co-operation in government will expedite agreement between them as to the method of working out the new constitutional arrangements.

22. His Majesty's Government consider, after the most careful study of the question, that the plan now suggested gives the utmost progress practicable within the present constitution. None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India.

23. His Majesty's Government feel certain that, given goodwill and a genuine desire to co-operate on all sides, both British and Indian, these proposals can mark a genuine step forward in the collaboration of the British and Indian peoples towards Indian self-government and can assert the rightful position, and strengthen the influence, of India in the counsels of the nations.

1945

181. Text of the statement by H. E. the Viceroy Lord Wavell, at the Simla Conference on July 14, 1945.

I must give the Conference an account of what has happened since we adjourned on June 29. As you know, my original intention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and that thereafter Parties should send me lists of names. To these lists I would, if necessary, have added names of my own, and attempted to form on paper an Executive Council which might be acceptable to His Majesty's Government, myself, and the Conference. I intended to discuss my selections with the leaders, and finally to put them to the Conference.

2. Unfortunately, the Conference was unable to agree about the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and on the 29th June I undertook with the approval of the Conference, to endeavour to produce a solution not based on any formula agreed in advance. I asked the parties to let me have lists of names and said I would do what I could to produce a solution acceptable to the leaders and to the Conference.

3. I received lists from all parties represented here except from the European Group, who decided not to send a list, and the Muslim League. I was, however, determined that the Conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending. I therefore made my provisional selections including certain Muslim League names, and have every reason to believe that if these selections had been acceptable here they would have been acceptable to His Majesty's Government.

4. My selections would, I think, have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council, whose composition would have been reasonably fair to all the parties. I did not find it possible, however, to accept the claims of any party in full. When I explained my solution to Mr. Jinnah he told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League, and he was so decided that I felt it would be useless to continue the discussions. In the circumstances I did not show my selections as a whole to Mr. Jinnah, and there was no object in showing them to the other leaders.

5. The Conference has therefore failed. Nobody can regret this more than I do myself. I wish to make it clear that the responsibility for the failure is mine. The main idea underlying the Conference was mine. If it had succeeded, its success would have been attributed to me, and I cannot place the blame for its failure upon any of the parties. I ask the party leaders to accept this view, and to do all they can to ensure that there are no recriminations. It is of the utmost importance that this effort to secure agreement between the parties and communities should not result in a worsening of communal feeling. I ask all to exercise the greatest possible restraint.

6. I have now to consider the next steps. I must remind you that, whatever happens, the first two of the three tasks mentioned in my broadcast—the prosecution of the war against Japan, and the carrying on of the administration and preparation for post-war development must be performed by the Government of India for the time being in office. It will be my duty to see that these tasks are performed with the greatest energy that I can impose, and I cannot permit any hindrance to them.

7. I propose to take a little time to consider in what way I can best help India after the failure of the Conference. You can all help best by refraining from recriminations. The war against Japan must be carried on, and law and order must be maintained; and until I see my way more clearly than I do now, it may be difficult, perhaps impossible, to suggest any new move. No Government can carry on under the daily prospect of change or dissolution. I have to secure the stability and day-to-day efficiency of my Government, and it would be impossible to enter upon continuous or even frequent political discussions of this kind. Whatever decisions His Majesty's Government may take in the near future must therefore, in all probability, hold good for some little time.

8. I thank you all for the help you have given me, and for the restraint, patience and understanding which you have shown. Do not any of you be discouraged by this setback. We

shall overcome our difficulties in the end. The future greatness of India is not in doubt.

1945

182. Text of the broadcast by H.E. the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, on September 19, 1945.

After my recent discussions with His Majesty's Government in London, they authorised me to make the following announcement:

"As stated in the gracious speech from the Throne at the Opening of Paliament, His Majesty's Government are determined to do their utmost, to promote in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion the early realisation of full self-government in India. During my visit to London they have discussed with me the steps to be taken.

"An announcement has already been made that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, so long postponed owing to the war, are to be held during the coming cold weather. Thereafter His Majesty's Government earnestly hope the ministerial responsibility will be accepted by political leaders in all Provinces.

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body, and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with representatives of the Legislative Asemblies in the Provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable. Discussion will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body.

"His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India.

"During these preparatory stages, the government of India must be carried on, and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with. Furthermore, India has to play her full part in working out the new World Order. His Majesty's Government have therefore further authorised me, as soon as the results of the Provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties".

That is the end of the announcement which His Majesty's Government have authorised me to make. It means a great deal. It means that His Majesty's Government are determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to self-government at the earliest possible date. They have, as you can well imagine, a great number of most important and urgent problems on their hands; but despite all their preoccupations they have taken time, almost in their first days of office, to give attention to the Indian problem, as one of the first and most important. That fact is a measure of the earnest resolve of His Majesty's Government to help India to achieve early self-government.

The task of making and implementing a new Constitution for India is a complex and difficult one which will require goodwill, co-operation and patience on the part of all concerned. We must first hold elections so that the will of the Indian electorate may be known. It is not possible to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system. This would delay matters for at least two years. But we are doing our best to revise the existing electoral rolls efficiently. After the elections I propose to hold discussions with representatives of those elected, and of the Indian States to determine the form which the Constitution-making body should take, its powers and procedure. The draft declaration of 1942 proposed a method of setting up a Constitution-making body but His Majesty's Gov-

ernment recognise that in view of the great issues involved and the delicacy of the minority problems, consultation with the people's representatives is necessary before the form of the Constitution-making body is finally determined.

The above procedure seems to His Majesty's Government and myself the best way open to us to give India the opportunity of deciding her destiny. We are well aware of the difficulties to be overcome but are determined to overcome them. I can certainly assure you that the Government and all sections of the British people are anxious to help India, which has given us so much help in winning this war. I for my part will do my best, in the service of the people of India, to help them to arrive at their goal and I firmly believe that it can be done.

It is now for Indians to show that they have the wisdom, faith and courage to determine in what way they can best reconcile their differences and how their country can be governed by Indians for Indians.

The Constituent Assembly that is to find the constitution for the new India will be elected by the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, except for the four members to represent small political units and the 93 to represent the Indian States. The method of election will be that in each Legislative Assembly each part of it, General, Muslim or Sikh, will elect its own representatives by proportional representation with the single transferable vote. This is used for some of the university seats at a British general election and in India for elections to the Legislative Councils by the Legislative Assemblies. It is easy to work for the voter, but may be hard on the tellers who have to deal not only with straight votes but with preferences.

Under this system a voter is given a voting paper with the list of candidates. He has one vote only, but as many preferences as there are vacancies to be filled. He may wish to see A elected, but if A does not need his vote he would choose B; if B too does not want it then first, second, third, etc. choice.

When a candidate has as many votes as are required to elect him, he is done with, any more votes for him are scrutinized and given to the second choice; and when the second choice has enough, to the third choice. This continues until the necessary number of candidates have the necessary number of votes for election. If there are 10 vacancies and the electing House number 100, 10 votes put a man in. There is no head of the poll; how many give a man their votes is immaterial, provided he gets the number he wants; others have whatever excess there may be for his name. When there are 45 vacancies to fill, as in the General part in Madras, the tellers will find it tedious work to bring into effect the lowest preferences if, which is unlikely, the voters are patient enough to go so far and the lower ranks of preference should happen to be required in the final adjustment. All elected are equally elected, however they get there; if a man gets in by a number of 45th preferences, he will happily not know it.

To take some examples, Bihar is given on the Constituent Assembly 31 General seats, 5 Muslim. The Legislative Assembly which elects them has 151 members, besides the Speaker—40 Muslims and 111 non-Muslims. The former will elect the 5 Muslims. The latter will elect the 31 General, which means that three votes will put a man in. In Bengal, where Muslim representatives are 33 and General 27, the two sides of the electing body are about equal; the quota required is in the neighbourhood of 45. Thus the four Anglo-Indian members with one helper could make sure of one, the 25 European members could put in five, the 30 Scheduled Caste members six. Minorities in all Assemblies, it may be assumed, will work together to make the most of their small voting strength, unless they decide to look chiefly to the Advisory Committee for the protection of their interests.

1946

183. Seats captured by the Muslim League in the General Elections to the Provincial Assemblies.

Provinces.	Total No. of Muslim Seats.	Seats won by the Muslim League.
Madras	29	29
Bombay	30	30
Bengal	113	119
U.P.	55	66
Punjab	79	86
Bihar	34	40
C.P.	13	14
N.W.F.P.	17	38
Assam	31	34
Orissa	4	4
Sind	35	35
	440	495

The Muslim League secured victory in approximately 90% of the Muslim Constituencies.

1946

184. An analysis of the results of the General Elections of 1946.

Out of a total of 1585 seats in the Provincial Assemblies of the 11 provinces, the Congress captured 905 seats including 324 seats without a contest. Muslim League captured 426 seats including 49 seats without a contest. The Congress and the Nationalist Muslim groups captured 52 Muslim seats, while the Unionists captured about a dozen Muslim seats. The party position provincewise is as follows:

BIHAR: Congress 98, League 34, Momins 5, Adbasi 3, Independents 12.

ORISSA: Congress 47, League 44, Communist 1, Independent 4.

SIND: Congress 18, League 27, Syed group 4, Azad Muslims 4. Muslim League polled 1,46,019 votes, while the Congress 7,60,039 votes.

BENGAL: Congress 86, League 114, Krishak Proja 4, Emazat 1, Hindu Mahasabha 1, Communists 3, Europeans 25, Independents 8, Scheduled Class Federation 1, Indian Christians 2. Congress polled 23,78,324 votes as against 20,36,775 pooled by the League.

C.P. and BERAR: Congress 72, League 13, Mahasabha 1, Ambedkarite 1, Independents 5. Congress polled 6,44,799 votes as against 46,899 polled by the League.

MADRAS: Congress 165, League 29, Communist 2, Nationalist Hindu 1, European 7, Independents 6.

N.W.F.P: Congress 30, League 17, Jamiat 2, Akali 1.

BOMBAY: Congress 128, League 30, Mahasabha 1, R.D. Party 1, Communists 2, Independents 13.

PUNJAB: Congress 51, League 73, Unionists 19, Akali 21.

ASSAM: Congress 58, League 31, Jamiat 3, Independents 7, Tribal League 6, Europeans 9.

UNITED PROVINCES: Congress 152, League 54, Nationalist Muslims 8, Independents 14.

CENTRAL ASSEMBLY: Congress polled 3,46,779 votes, while the League polled 1,62,352 votes.

1946

185. Announcing the appointment of the Cabinet Mission that was to visit India to explore with Indian leaders the lines on which Indian constitutional advancement should evolve, Mr. Attlee the Prime Minister, addressed the House of Commons as follows on 15th March, 1946.

"I find from our friends in this House who had been out to India and returned, from letters received from Indians and from Englishmen in India of all points of view, complete agreement on the fact that India is today in a state of great tension and that this is indeed a critical moment. I am quite sure that every one in this House realizes the difficulty of this task which the members of Mission have undertaken in conjunction with the Viceroy and that no one will desire to say anything whatever that will make that task more difficult.

It is time emphatically for a very definite and clear action. I do not intend to make a long speech. I do not think it would be wise to do so and in particular it would be most unhelpful to review the past. It is so easy to go back over the past, and in accordance with one's predilections to apportion blame for past failures in long-drawn-out discussions on this extraordinarily difficult problem—the problem of development of India into a completely self-governing nation. In the long period of the past, it is so easy to point out and say that at this stage or that stage opportunities were missed by faults on one side or other.

I have had very close connection with the problem for nearly 20 years and I say there have been faults on both sides, but this time we should look to the future rather than harp back to the past. Thus I would say it is no good applying the formula of the past to the present position. The temperature of 1946 is not the temperature of 1920, 1930 or even 1942. The slogans of earlier days are discarded. Sometimes, words that seemed at that time to Indians to express the height of their aspirations are now set on one side and other words and ideas thrust forward.

Nothing increases the pace and movement of public opinion more than a great war. Everyone who had anything to do with this question in the early days between the war knows what effect the war of 1914-18 had on Indian aspirations and ideas. The tide that runs comparatively slowly in peace becomes vastly accelerated in wartime, and especially directly

afterwards, because that tide is to some extent banked up during war. I am quite certain that at the present time the tide of nationalism is running very fast in India and indeed all over Asia.

One always has to remember that India is affected by what happens elsewhere in Asia. I remember when I was on the Simon Commission what effect the challenge that had been thrown out by Japan at that time had had on the Asiatic people and the tide of nationalism that at one time seemed to be canalized among a comparatively small portion of the people of India, mainly a few of the educated classes, has tended to spread wider and wider.

I remembered that in the Simon Commission report-although there were great differences in expression of the nationalistic sentiment between what were called extremist and moderate and although in many instances there might be such stress of communal claims as may seem almost to exclude the conception of nationalism, we found that among Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Marhattas, politicians or civil servants—among all of them—that conception of nationalism had been growing stronger and stronger and today I think that the national idea has spread right through, not the least perhaps among some of those soldiers who had done such wonderful service in the war.

I would like today, therefore, not to stress so much the differences between the Indians, but let us all realize that whatever the difficulties and divisions may be there is this underlying demand among all the Indian people.

There will be matters undoubtedly on which it is necessary to refer back for Cabinet decision, but in our fluid position at the present time when we desire to get the utmost co-operation and goodwiil between all leaders of Indian opinion it would be unwise to try and tie down those what are going out too rigidly.

The obvious reasons for sending out of the Cabinet Ministers is that you send out persons of responsibility who are able to take decisions. Of course, there must be an area in which there may have to be a reference back.

It is worth remembering that twice in 25 years India has played a great part in the defeat of tyranny. Therefore, is it any wonder that today she claims—a nation of four hundred million people that twice sent her sons to die for freedom—that she should herself have freedom to decide her own destiny? (Cheers).

My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain that freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide, but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith a machinery for making that decision.

There you have met with the initial difficulty of getting that machinery set up, but we are resolved that a machinery shall be set up and we seek the utmost co-operation of all Indian leaders to do so.

India herself must choose as to what will be her future situation and her position in the world. Unity may come through the United Nations or through the Commonwealth, but no great nation can stand alone by herself without sharing what is happening in the world.

I hope that India may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that she will find great advantage in doing so, but if she does she must do it of her own free will, for the British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free people. If on the other hand she elects for independence—and in our view she has a right to do so—it will be for us to help make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.

I am well aware that when I speak of India I speak of a country containing congeries of races, religions and languages and I know well the difficulties thereby created but these difficulties can only be overcome by Indians.

We are mindful of the rights of the minorities and the minorities should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of a majority. We cannot dictate how these difficulties shall be overcome. Our first duty is to get a machinery set up and that is the main purpose of the Ministerial Mission and the Viceroy.

We want to see set up an interim government—one of the purposes of the Bill which has been discussed today—to give the Viceroy greater freedom in order that in the period which is to elapse while a constitution is being worked out, you may have a government enjoying the greatest possible support in India. I would not like to fetter the Viceroy's decision in any way in regard to the choice of portfolios.

In many Indian States, great advance has been made and there is a most interesting experiment in Travancore. Of course, feelings in India with regard to nationalism and unity of India cannot be confined by boundaries that separate the States from the provinces.

I am hoping that statesmen of Britain and of Princely India will be able to work out a solution of the problem of bringing together in one great polity the various constituent parts, and there again we must see that Indian States find their due place. I do not believe for a moment that the Indian Princes would desire to be a bar in the forward march of India.

This is a matter which Indians will settle themselves. I am very well aware of the minority problem in India. I think all Indian leaders are realizing more and more the need for getting a settlement of these minority problems if India is to

have a smooth passage in future years and I believe that due provision will be made for them in the constitution.

The mission will certainly not neglect this point. But you cannot make Indians responsible for governing themselves and at the same time retain over here the responsibility for treatment of minorities and powers of intervention on their behalf.

We are mindful too of the position of the services and of the men who have done great service to India. India should be sensible of the responsibility she has to those who have served her.

Any interim government which takes over the assets of the Government will also take over the liabilities. That again is a point to be dealt with later on. It does not concern the immediate setting up of the Instrument of Decision.

With regard to the treaty, we are not going to hang out for anything for our own advantage which would be to the disadvantage of India.

Let me stress again the crucial nature of the task before us. This problem is of vital importance not only to India and the British Commonwealth and Empire but to the world.

In the mass of Asia, and Asia ravaged by war, we have here the one country that has been seeking to apply the principles of democracy. I have always felt myself that political India might be the light of Asia.

It is a most unfortunate circumstance that just at the time when we have to deal with these great political issues there should be grave economic difficulties. In particular we have very grave anxiety over India's food supply.

The House knows that the British Government are deeply concerned in this problem and the Minister of Food is

now in the United States with the Indian Delegation. We shall do our utmost to help India.

I do not think I should refer to the social and economic difficulties except to say that I believe that these difficulties can only be solved by Indians themselves because they are so closely bound up with the whole Indian way of life and outlook. Whatever we can do to assist we shall do.

My colleagues are going out to India resolved to succeed and I am sure everyone will wish them Godspeed".

1946

186. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, adopted on April 11th, 1946, explaining the League's attitude on Cripps' proposals.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the announcement made by Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, in the House of Commons on March 11, 1942, and the Draft Declaration of the War Cabinet of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of India and also the interim proposals, during the critical period which now faces India, for the immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country.

The Committee appreciate that the British Prime Minister, in his pronouncement, made it clear that the Draft Declaration embodied only the proposals of His Majesty's Government and not their decision, and that they are subject to agreement between the main elements in India, thus maintaining the validity of the Declaration of August 8, 1940, which had promised to the Mussalmans that neither the machinery for the framing of the constitution should be set up nor the constitution itself should be enforced without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

The Committee, while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognized by implication by providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India, regret that the proposals of His Majesty's Government embodying the fundamentals, are not open to any modification and, therefore, no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee have no alternative but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable to them for reasons given below.

(1) The Mussalmans, after twenty-five years of genuine efforts for the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts, are convinced that it is neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel them to constitute one Indian Union, composed of the two principal nations—Hindus and Muslims—which appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government, as adumbrated in the Preamble of the Draft Declaration, the creation of more than one union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility and is purely illusory.

(2) In the Draft Declaration a constitution-making body has been proposed with the primary object of creating one Indian Union. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it has finally decided that the only solution of India's constitutional problem is the partition of India into independent zones; and it will, therefore, be unfair to the Mussalmans to compel them to enter such a constitution-making body, whose main object is the creation of a new Indian Union. With conditions as they are, it will be not only futile but on the contrary may exacerbate bitterness and animosity amongst the various elements in the country.

Besides, the machinery which has been proposed for the creation of the constitution-making body, namely, that it will consist of members elected by the newly elected

Lower Houses of the eleven provinces, upon the cessation of hostilities, as a single electoral college by the system of proportional representation, is a fundamental departure from the right of the Mussalmans, hitherto enjoyed by them, to elect their representatives by means of separate electorates, which is the only sure way in which true representatives of the Mussalmans can be chosen.

The constitution-making body will take decisions by a bare majority on all questions of most vital and paramount character involved in the framing of the constitution, which is a departure from the fundamental principles of justice and contrary to constitutional practice so far followed in the various countries and Dominions; and the Mussalmans, by agreeing to this will, instead of exercising their right and judgment as a constituent factor, be at the entire mercy of the constitution-making body, in which they will be a minority of about twenty-five per cent.

(3) The right of non-accession to the Union, as contemplated in the Draft-Declaration, has been conceded; presumably, in response to the insistent demands by the Mussalmans for the partition of India, but the method and procedure laid down are such as to negative the professed object, for, in the draft proposals, the right of non-accession has been given to the existing Provinces, which have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis.

The Mussalmans cannot be satisfied by such a Declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny and demand a clear and precise pronouncement on the subject. Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issues is to court disaster.

In the draft proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the Province is to be obtained in favour of, or against, accession to one Union; but in the letter dated April 2, from the secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, it is stated that

"a Province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in. If the majority for accession to the Union is less than sixty per cent, the majority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult population." In this connection it must be emphasized that in the Provinces where the Mussalmans are in a majority, as in the case of the major Provinces of Bengal and Punjab, they are in a majority in the Legislative Assemblies; and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, the total number, namely, sixty and fifty, respectively, is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated and a decision under such conditions cannot be the true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Mussalmans of those Provinces.

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the Provinces in which the Mussalmans are in a majority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assemblies, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the Provinces and not to the Mussalmans alone, which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination.

(4) With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or form a union.

(5)) With regard to the treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement on the terms between the contracting parties, nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when there is a difference of opinion in negotating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation.

(6) With regard to their interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majes-

ty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion, until a complete picture is available. Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion of the interim arrangements for participation in the counsels of the country, is that Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the centre and discard the rest of the draft scheme, and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements.

In conclusion the Committee wish to point out that the position of the Muslim League has been and is that unless the principle of Pakistan scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution dated March, 1940, which is now the creed of the All-India Muslim League, namely:

> "The establishment of completely independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute independent States as Muslim free national homelands in which the constitutent units shall be autonomous and sovereign;
>
> "That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above-mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;

"That in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of the religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them,"

is unequivocally accepted and the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination is conceded by means of a machinery which will reflect the true verdict of Muslim India, it is not possible for the Muslim League to accept any proposal or scheme regarding the future.

1946

187. Resolution passed at the Convention of over 470 Muslim members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies held at Delhi on 8th and 9th April, 1946, with Quaid-e-Azam in the Chair.

"Whereas in this vast sub-continent of India a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies, and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma and philosophy, which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and super-imposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically;

"Whereas the Hindu caste system is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for;

"Whereas different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals; and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations;

"Whereas soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule, which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the majority of the other nation or society in spite of their opposition, as was amply demonstrated during the two and a half years' regime of Congress Governments in the Hindu majority provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935, when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and opposition as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safeguards provided in the constitution and in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a United Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims even in majority provinces would meet with no better fate, and their rights and interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the Centre.

"Whereas the Muslims are convinced that with a view to saving Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus, and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east zone and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west zone.

"This convention of the Muslim League legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a united India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Government for transferring power from the British to the peoples of India,

which does not conform to the following just, equitable principles, calculated to maintain internal peace and solution of the Indian problem :

Pakistan Zones

"First that the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India, namely, Pakistan zones where the Muslims are a dominant majority be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.

"Second, that two separate constitution-making bodies be set up by peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions.

"Third that the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All-India Muslim League resolution passed on March 23, 1940, at Lahore.

"Fourth, that the acceptance of the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the sine qua non for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an interim Government at the Centre.

"This convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on a united India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence."

Proposed by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal, and seconded by (1) Malik Feroz Khan Noon, (2) Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, (3) Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, (4) Begum Shahnawaz, (5) Mr. Abdul Hashem, (6) Mr. Abdul Hamid.

1 9 4 6

188. Letter from the Quaid, as President of the all-India Muslim League, to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated 29th April, 1946.

I thank you for your letter of April 27, which I placed before my Working Committee yesterday morning.

My colleagues and I fully appreciate the further attempt that the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy are making to bring about an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress by proposing a meeting of the representatives of the two organisations for the purpose of negotiating an agreement. They, however, desire me to invite your attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore Resolution in 1940 and, thereafter, successively endorsed by the All-India Muslim League session and again by the Convention of the Muslim League Legislators, as recently as April 9, 1946, as per copy enclosed.

The Working Committee desire to point out that many important matters both of principle and detail in your brief letter require elucidation and clarification, which, in their opinion, can be achieved at the meeting proposed by you.

Therefore, without prejudice of commitment, the Working Committee, in their anxiety to assist in finding an agreed solution of the Indian constitutional problem, have authorized me to nominate three representatives on behalf of the Muslim League to participate in the negotiations.

The following are the four names: (1) Mr. M. A. Jinnah, (2) Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan, (3) Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and (4) Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar.

1 9 4 6

189. Lord Pethick-Lawrence broadcast the Cabinet's proposals in a Radio talk on 16th May, 1946.

The words which I shall speak to you are concerned with the future of a great people—the people of India. There is a passionate desire in the hearts of Indians expressed by the leaders of all their political parties for independence.

His Majesty's Government and the British people as a whole are fully ready to accord this independence whether within or without the British Commonwealth and hope that out of it will spring a lasting and friendly association between our two peoples on a footing of complete equality.

Nearly two months ago I, as Secretary of State for India, and my two Cabinet colleagues, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, were sent out by His Majesty's Government to India to assist the Viceroy in setting up in India the machinery by which Indians can devise their own constitution.

We were at once confronted with a major obstacle. The two principal parties—the Muslim League who won the great majority of the Muslim seats in the recent elections, and the Congress who won the majority of all the others—were opposed to one another as to the kind of machinery to be set up. The Muslim League claimed that British India should be divided into two completely separate Sovereign States, and refused to take part in constitution-making unless this claim was conceded in advance. Congress insisted on one single united India.

During our stay in India we have tried by every means to secure such accommodation between the parties as would enable constitution-making to proceed. Recently we were able to bring them together at Simla in conference with ourselves but though both sides were prepared to make substantial concessions it was not found possible to reach complete agreement. We have therefore been compelled ourselves to seek for a solution which by securing the main object of both parties will enable constitution-making machinery to be brought into immediate operation.

While we recognize the reality of the fear of the Muslim League that in a purely unitary India their community with its own culture and way of life might become submerged in a majority Hindu rule, we do not accept the setting up of a separate Muslim Sovereign State as a solution of the communal problem. Pakistan as the Muslim League would call their State would not consist solely of Muslims: it would contain a substantial minority of other communities which would average over 40 per cent and, in certain wide areas, would even constitute a majority, as for instance in the city of Calcutta where the Muslims form less than one-third of the population.

Moveover, the complete separation of Pakistan from the rest of India would in our view gravely endanger the defence of the whole country by splitting the army in two and by preventing that defence in depth which is essential in modern war. We therefore do not suggest the adoption of this proposal.

Our own recommendations contemplate a constitution of three tiers, at the top of which would be the Union of India with an executive and legislature empowered to deal with the essential subjects of external affairs, defence and communications and the finance necessary for these services. At the bottom would be provinces which would have, apart from the subjects I have just named, complete autonomy.

But we contemplate further that provinces will wish to unite together in groups to carry out, in common, services covering a wider area than that of a single province; and these groups may have, if they wish, legislatures and executives which in that event will be intermediate between those of the provinces and those of the Union.

On this basis which makes it possible for the Muslims to secure the advantages of Pakistan without incurring the dangers inherent in the division of India we invite Indians of all parties to take part in framing a constitution. The Viceroy will accordingly summon to New Delhi representatives of

British India who will be elected by the members of the provincial legislatures in such a way that as nearly as possible for each one million of the population there will be one representative, and that the proportion between the representatives of the main communities will be on the same basis.

After a preliminary meeting in common, these representatives of the provinces will divide themselves up into three sections, the composition of which is laid down and which if the provinces ultimately agree, will become the three groups, These sections will decide upon provincial and group matters. Subsequently they will reunite to decide upon the constitution for the Union. After the first elections under the new constitution, provinces will be free to opt out of the group into which they have been provisionally placed.

We appreciate that this machinery does not of itself give any effective representation to other than the principal minorities and we are, therefore, providing for a special committee to be set up, in which the minorities will play a full part. The business of this committee will be to formulate fundamental and minority rights and to recommend their inclusion in the constitution at the appropriate level.

So far I have said nothing about the Indian States which comprise a third of the area of India and contain about one quarter of the whole population. These States at present are each separately governed and have individual relationships with the British Crown. There is general recognition that when British India attains independence the position of these States cannot remain unaffected, and it is anticipated that they will wish to take part in the constitution-making process and be represented in the All-India Union. It does not, however, lie within our province to decide these matters in advance as they will have to be the subject of negotiation with the States before action can be taken.

During the making of the constitution, the administration must be carried on and we attach therefore the greatest

importance to the setting up at once of an interim Government having the support of the major political parties. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end and he hopes to bring them shortly to a successful issue.

During the interim period the British Government, recognizing the significance of the change in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

The essence of statecraft is to envisage the probable course of future events but no statesmen can be wise enough to frame a constitution which will adequately meet all the requirements of an unknown future. We may be confident therefore that the Indians on whom falls the responsibility of creating the initial constitution will give it a reasonable flexibility and will make provison for it to be revised and amended as required from time to time.

In this short talk you will not expect me to go into further details regarding our proposals which you can read in the statement which has been released for publication this evening.

But in conclusion, I will repeat and emphasize what to me is the fundamental issue. The future of India and how that future is inaugurated are matters of vital importance not only to India herself but to the whole world. If a great new sovereign state can come into being in a spirit of mutual goodwill both within and without India, that of itself will be an outstanding contribution to world stability.

The Government and people of Britain are not only willing, they are anxious to play their part in achieving this result. But the constitution for India has to be framed by Indians and worked by Indians when they have brought it into being. We appreciate to the full the difficulties which confront

them in embarking on this task. We have done and we will continue to do all that lies in our power to help them to overcome these difficulties. But the responsibility and the opportunity is theirs and in their fulfilment of it we wish them Godspeed.

1946

190. Explaining the proposals of the Cabinet Mission, Sir Stafford Cripps stated in a Press Conference on 16th May 1946.

The first thing I want to point out is what the statement does not purport to do. Let me remind you that this is not merely the Mission's statement, that is the statement of the four signatories, but it is the statement of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Now the statement does not purport to set out a new constitution for India. It is of no use asking as "how do you propose to do this or that?" The answer will be we don't propose to do anything as regards decision upon a constitution that is not for us to decide.

What we have had to do is to lay down one or two broad principles of how the constitution might be constructed and recommended those as foundations to the India people. You will notice we use the word 'recommended' with regard to the ultimate constitutional forms with which we deal.

You may quite fairly ask: 'But why do you recommend anything, why not leave it to the Indians?' The answer is that we are most anxious to get all Indians into some constitution-making machinery as quickly as possible and the block at present is in this matter. We are, therefore, by this means trying to remove the block so that the constitution-making may start and progress freely and rapidly. We hope very earnestly that will be the effect.

Now that it has been finally and absolutely decided that India is to have the complete independence she desires,

whether within or without the British Commonwealth as she chooses, we are anxious that she shall have it as soon as possible and the soonest is when there is a new constitutional structure decided upon by the Indian people.

But of course, we cannot just stand by and wait till that time comes. It is bound to take some time to reach that point of completion of the new constitutional structure.

So as you know, the Viceroy, in whose province Government-making primarily lies, has already started his talks with a view to the immediate setting up of a representative Indian Government. We hope that, with the other issues out of the way, on the basis of our statement, he will be able very rapidly to get that new Government representative of the main parties set up and in operation.

This matter of the interim Government is of supreme importance because of the enormous tasks facing India at the moment. It is these great tasks, and perhaps the greatest of them is to deal with the food situation, that makes it absolutely essential that we should between us arrange a smooth and efficient transition.

Nothing could be more fatal to the Indian people today in the face of dangers of famine than a breakdown of administration and communications anywhere in India, and that is why we stress as we do the vital need for co-operation between all parties and communities including the British in this time of transition.

British Withdrawal

So much then for the vitally important point of the interim Government. Some of you wonder how soon this means that the British will sever their governmental connection with India—I hope that in any event we shall remain the closest friends when Indian freedom comes. Well, we certainly can't say that. Who can foretell how quickly constitutions

can be hammered out? One thing is, however, absolutely certain and this is the quicker you start the quicker you will end and the sooner we shall be able to withdraw, handing over the power to the new Governments of the Union, Provinces and, if it is so decided, of the groups.

This brings me to what has been decided rather than recommended. It has been decided to make a start with the constitution-making right away. This does not mean a decision as to what the constitution shall finally be; that is for decision by the representatives of the Indian people. What it does mean is that the deadlock which has prevented a start on the process of constitution-making is to be removed once and for all.

The form in which we propose that the constitution-making bodies should be assembled is important for this reason. It permits of arriving at constitutions in the recommended form. It goes a little further than that in one respect.

As we believe and hope that the two parties will come into this constitution-making on the basis of our recommendations, it would not be fair to either of them if the fundamental basis which we recommend could be easily departed from. So we stipulate that a departure from that basis, which is laid down in paragraph 15 of the statement, should only be made if a majority of both communities agree to it. That I think is eminently fair to both parties.

It does not mean that no departure can be made from the recommendations, but it does mean that the special provisions I have mentioned will apply to such resolutions in the constituent assembly of the Union. That is one special provision as to particular majorities. The only other is in relation to matters raising any major communal issue, when a similar rule will apply. All the rest is left to the free play of discussion and vote.

One question I am sure will occur to all of you and that is why we have named the three sections of provinces into which the Assembly will break up to formulate the Provincial and Group Constitutions.

There was a very good reason for this. First of all, of course, somehow or other those groups had to be formed before they could proceed to their business. There were two ways of dealing with that matter. Either let the present Provincial Governments opt themselves into groups or—after seeing the constitutions produced—let the new governments, after the whole constitution-making is complete, opt themselves out if they wish.

We have chosen the second alternative for two reasons. First, because it follows the suggestion Congress put forward as regards the provinces and a single federation. They suggested that all the provinces should come in at the beginning but could opt out, if they did not like the constitution when they had seen it. We think that this principle should apply to the Groups.

Second, the present legislatures are not truly representative of the whole population because of the effect of the Communal Award with its weightages. We have tried to get a scheme as near as possible to the full adult suffrage, which would be fairest but which would take probably two years to work out—and no one believes that we could wait that length of time before starting on constitution-making.

So we discard the present legislatures as decisive for the option and say let it be exercised when the first new elections have taken place, when no doubt there will be a much fuller franchise and when, if necessary, the precise issue can be raised at the election. So the three sections will formulate the Provincial and Group Constitutions and when that is done they work together with the States' representatives to make the Union Constitution. That is the final phase.

States' Future

Now a word about the States. The statement in paragraph 14 makes the position quite clear that paramountcy cannot be continued after the new constitution comes into operation nor can it be handed over to anyone else. It isn't necessary for me to state, I am sure, that a contract or arrangement of this kind cannot be handed over to a third party without the consent of the States. They will, therefore, become wholly independent but they have expressed their wish to negotiate their way into the Union and that is a matter we leave to negotiation between the States and the British Indian parties.

There is one other important provision which I would like to stress as it is somewhat novel in constitution-making. We were met by the difficulty of how we could deal fairly with the smaller minorities, the tribal and the excluded areas.

In any constitution-making body it would be quite impossible to give them a weightage which would secure for them any effective influence without gravely upsetting the balance between the major parties. To give them a tiny representation would be useless to them. So we decided that minorities would be dealt with really in a double way.

The major minorities, such as the Hindus in Muslim provinces, and the Muslims in Hindu provinces, the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Depressed Classes, who had considerable representation in a number of provinces would be dealt with by proportional representation in the main construction of the constitution-making bodies.

But in order to give these minorities, and particularly the smaller minorities like the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and also the Tribal representatives, a better opportunity of influencing minority provisions, we have made provisions for the setting up by the constitution-making body of an influential Advisory Commission which will take the initiative in the preparation of the list of fundamental rights, the mino-

rity protection clauses and the proposals for the administration of tribal and excluded areas. This Commission will make its recommendations to the constitution-making body and will also suggest at which stage or stages in the constitution these provisions should be inserted, that is whether in the Union, Group or Provincial Constitutions or in any two or more of them.

Now that, I think, gives you some picture of the main points with which we have dealt in our statement.

There is only one other point that I want to stress before leaving the matter with you until tomorrow morning. You will realize, I am sure, how terribly important is this moment of decision for the Indian people.

We are all agreed that we want a speedy conclusion of these matters, so far we have not been able to agree upon how it should be brought about. We have done in this statement what we believe to be best after two months of discussion and very hard work and in the light of all we have heard and studied. This is our firm opinion and we do not, of course, intend to start all the negotiations over again.

We intend to get on with the job on the lines we have laid down. We ask the Indian people to give this statement calm and careful consideration. I believe that the happiness of their future depends upon what they now do. If failing their agreement, they will accept this method that we put forward of getting on with the making of a new constitution for India, we can between us make it a smooth transition and a rapid one, but if the plan is not accepted no one can say how great will be the disturbances, or how acute and long the suffering that will be self-inflicted on the Indian people.

Security Reiterated

We are convinced that this statement offers an honourable and peaceful method to all parties and if they will accept

it we will do all that lies in our power to help forward the constitution-making so as to arrive at the speediest possible settlement.

Let no one doubt for one moment our intentions. We have not come to India and stayed here so long and worked so hard except to carry out what has long been the policy of the British Labour Party and that is to transfer power to the Indian people as quickly as smoothly and as co-operatively as the difficulties of the process permit.

We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the Indian people will accept the statement in the spirit of co-operation in which it has been drawn up, and that within a week or two the process of constitution-making may begin and the interim Government may be formed.

1946

191. Statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on 16th May, 1946.

1. On March 15, just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:

> My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision.
>
> I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so.
>
> But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound to-

gether by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement, but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new Constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Interim Government

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend as a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost

universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. The consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the northwest consisting of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged.

The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show—

North-Eastern Area—

	Muslims	Non-Muslims
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,517
North-West Frontier Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
British Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62.07%	37.93%

North-Eastern Area—

Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51.69%	48.31%

(All population figures in this statement are from the most recent census taken in 1944.)

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

Pakistan Impracticable

These figures show that the setting up of a separate Sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League would not solve the communal minority problem.

We do not see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We, therefore, considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab, (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6 per cent of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have, therefore, been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long tradition and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally, there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are, therefore, unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

Congress Case

12. This decision does not, however, bind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this, the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India, while other Ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government.

This fact has been fully recognized by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure and it by no means follows that if will be identical for all the States. We have not, therefore, dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for all India.

Six Major Proposals

15. We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form :

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with

the following subjects :—Foreign Affairs; Defence and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British India and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a Constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a Constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary, however, for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future Constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations

that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

Constituent Assembly

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new Constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new constitutional structure, the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies.

There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strength of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions, has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their members in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48% of the total, although they form 55% of the Provincial population. After a most cereful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the

ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population.

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Muslim and Sikh; the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We, therefore, propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method or proportional representation with the single transferable vote :

Table of Representation

SECTION A

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55

(continued)

Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

SECTION B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
Punjab	18	16	4	28
N.W.F.P.	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

SECTION C

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70

Total for British India	..	..	..	292
Maximum for Indian States	..	..	..	93
			Total	385

Note :—In order to represent the Chief Commissioners's Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative

Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council. To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter, the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group or Union constitution.

States' Negotiating Committee

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Beside the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented.

For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognizing the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we could finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new Constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We, therefore, now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and

after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognize with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the effort which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would, therefore, be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women, and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We, therefore, lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interest of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever-increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

1946

192. The Cabinet Mission issued the following statement at a Press Conference on 17th May, 1946.

"**Secretary of State for India**: Gentlemen, we had the pleasure and opportunity of meeting most of you last night. Sir Stafford Cripps gave you an address expounding the text of the Statement which we had just issued. We have come this morning, quite willing and, so far as I am concerned, looking forward to being put questions as to the meaning of certain words in the Statement. I should however like to make this clear, that we, the three Cabinet Ministers, are here and if you put us any veiled conundrums not as to the text of the Statement but as to something that might happen and what we would do under all sorts of hypothetical considerations, then I am not prepared to give you an answer straightaway because those are matters quite clearly which ought to be most carefully considered by the Cabinet Mission, by the Viceroy and by His Majesty's Government, with whose complete approval we issued the Statement itself. It is not therefore for us three Cabinet Ministers to enlarge upon or to add anything to the Statement which has already been issued. Having made that clear, in all sincerity and with the best of intention, I am prepared to clarify on my own responsibility and not as a complete pronouncement and enlargement of the Statement already issued, and I shall be quite happy to apply myself to any questions that you may care to ask.

Question: Will the Negotiating Committee mentioned on page 5 be part of the Constituent Assembly in the initial stage before the representatives of the States have been elected on an agreed basis?

Answer: In the preliminary meeting where all sections are meeting as one as described in sub-para (iv), quite clearly there will be no representatives of the States as such present, because the machinery will not have been finalised for representing the States. Therefore in that preliminary meeting, it is proposed that this Negotiating Committee shall for the moment represent the States.

Question: In the intervening period, will the Commander-in-Chief be subject to the British Parliament as stated

by Mr. Attlee, and in the event of resistance to the terms of the award, will British forces be used to impose the award as suggested by Mr. Churchill? We take it that these decisions with regard to the composition of the groups and of the Constituent Assembly and so on are not intended to be imposed by force, but they are proposals for rejection or acceptance by Indian opinion?

Answer: The first point to note is that this is not an award. It is a recommendation as a certain basis of constitution and a decision to summon Indian representatives to make their own constitution, and therefore quite clearly there is no question whatever of the British enforcing an award, and under those circumstances the question of using British troops does not arise at all.

Question: Supposing a group decides not to come into the Union Constituent Assembly, what would be the position as far as that Group is concerned?

Answer: It is purely a hypothetical question what would happen if certain provinces or groups are not willing to co-operate in proceeding with this constitutional machinery. As I said at the beginning, that is the sort of question which I cannot answer in any definite form. You cannot forejudge exactly what would be done in the event of people not co-operating. But there is every intention of proceeding with the constitution-making machinery as it is set out in this Statement, and if any group tries to put spanners in the wheel, I am not prepared at this stage to state what will be done.

Question: Is it not a fact that so far as membership of the Constituent Assembly is concerned, it is not by groups; but the members of the Constituent Assembly will be individuals elected, and that there is no such thing as a group deciding to join the Constituent Assembly or not; it is individuals who will be elected and who in their individual capacity will come and join the Assembly?

Answer : I can answer that question in the affirmative.

Question : Is it not a fact that the constitution-making body will be composed of individuals elected from the various provincial Legislative Assemblies and will not be composed of groups or anything else, and will Lord Pethick-Lawrence say that is a fact?

Answer : I do not know whether you have heard the question. As I understand it, the answer is in the affirmative.

Question : How do you propose to constitute the Negotiations Committee on behalf of the States? You have not indicated how that Negotiations Committee will be formed.

Answer : That is a matter for discussion with the States. It will presumably be for the States in the first instance to put forward a form for that Negotiations Committee, and until that is gone into, I do not think it is for us to get any further. When you get outside what is called British India and come to the States, you are dealing with bodies that are to a very large extent independent, and it is not for us in a document to say how a Negotiating Committee shall be formed.

Question : Consultation between whom?

Answer : Between all the parties concerned.

Question : Presumbaly when you deal with negotiations with the States you must mean with the autocratic rulers concerned and not with the peoples of the States.

Answer : The whole matter has got to be considered at the time. We are not in a position to decide this in advance, and that is why this is left vague. The object of our Statement is to deal primarily with one issue and that is the communal issue which hitherto has prevented a constitution-making body being set up at all. About the middle of page 3 it is said, 'The precise form which their co-operation (i.e. the States)

will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure.' It by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the provinces of British India in the paragraph which follows.

Question : Supplementary to that, would you explain why it is that while a particular machinery is set up for the election of delegates to the Constituent Assembly from British India, no indication whatsoever is given about the erpresentatives from the Indian States?

Answer : I should have thought the answer was apparent in the document itself. So far as British India is concerned, we have been discussing this very matter with representatives of the two communities. After hearing all their points of view we have come to a specific conclusion, which we have proposed in the document which we have issued. So far as the States are concerned, we are not in the same position at all, and for that reason we have proposed that the method of representation of the States shall be decided after negotiation instead of being laid down by us in a document of this kind.

Question : In your recommendations you have said that the constitutions of the Union and the Groups should contain a provision whereby any province could call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years. Does that include the right of secession?

Sir S. Cripps : On page 3, para 15, sub-section 6, there is the provision that the constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any province could by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years. The question is whether there is included in the words 'call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution' any right to have secession considered?

Answer : The answer is that if you revise the constitution, quite clearly the whole basis of the constitution can be considered again. Therefore any province can ask for a revision of the constitution as far as I can see. When that revision is undertaken, all questions in the constitution are open to discussion.

Question : Can the Constituent Assembly be regarded as sovereign in view of three points that are put forward, viz.,

1. Adult suffrage has been ruled out;
2. British troops would continue to remain on the soil;
3. The principle and the procedure of the constitution-making body have been laid down.

Answer : First of all it is suggested that adult suffrage is ruled out. That of course is quite untrue. Adult suffrage can, if the constitution making-body so decide, be the essential basis of the new constitution. Our friend is confusing two quite separate things. It is perfectly open to the Constituent Assembly to decide in favour of adult suffrage. What is not proposed in our Statement is that this body which is going to make the constitution shall itself be elected by adult suffrage, and the only reason why we lay that down is that otherwise you will get a delay of anything up to two years in the start of making the constitution. That was the first point.

The second point was, can the Constituent Assembly be regarded as sovereign so long as British troops remain on Indian soil? I am not quite clear what the questioner means. Of course if the constitution, as it is framed by Indians, is for complete independence outside the British Commonwealth, naturally one of the first things that will happen will be that the British troops will immediately be withdrawn, except on the possible assumption that some arrangement might be made which would be entirely in the hands of Indians. The normal assumption is that British troops would go. But British troops

of course will remain until the constitution is made, not with the view of forcing or determining any constitution on the constitution-making body, because they are entirely free to make such a constitution as they like on this basis. Therefore I do not think the question of British troops affects the issue at all.

The third question was whether, as we had laid down certain provisions, the constitution-making body or Constituent Assembly could be regarded in any sense as sovereign. Well, we only laid these conditions down because Indians did not come to an agreement among themselves. If it had been possible for the two Indian parties to come together to make a constitution, we should have made no stipulations of any kind. But when we got here, we found what we suspected in advance, that a Constituent Assembly representing all parties could not be acceptable except on certain decisions taken in advance. We then asked the Indian parties whether they themselves by agreement would lay down certain decisions which would enable the Constituent Assembly to meet together and to function, and we tried our very best to get that agreed to and we went a considerable distance towards getting agreement on that point, but we did not get all the way, and therefore only because of that we suggested that basis and we made these recommendations, because it is only on those that we felt that we could get representatives of all parties to sit together and try to draw up a constitution. But even so, I would point out to you that even that basis can be altered, but it can only be altered by a separate majority of such party who desire to do so, and the reason is this, that these representatives of different parties have agreed to meet together only on that basis. That is what we believe is the basis on which they will come together. If they do come together on that basis, is will mean that they will have accepted that basis, but they can still change it if by a majority of each party they desire to do so.

Question: The question is under paragraph 15, sub-para 5: the phrase 'Provinces should be free to form groups

etc. . . .' whether that means that in the initial stage provinces are free to stay out?

Answer : Provinces automatically come into sections A, B or C which are set out in the statement, and initially they are in the particular sections to which they are elected in the statement, and that particular section will decide whether a group shall be formed and what should be the constitution of the provinces in the section and the group. The right to opt out of the group formed by that section arises after the constitution has been framed and the first election to the Legislature has taken place under that constitution. It does not arise before that.

Question : Can a province, if it opts out of a certain section, go into another section?

Answer : If you think that out, you will see, I think, that if you gave the right to a province to opt into another section did not want to receive it, it might get into an awkward situation. The answer to your question, therefore, whether a province can go into another section, is not laid down in any way and it will be open to the Constituent Assembly to deal with that point in its proper setting.

Question: With reference to your answer, there is to my mind a very serious lacuna regarding the exercise of the option. You say here that a province is not allowed to exercise the option of either going in or getting out of a certain group in the initial stages by the vote of its present legislature. Secondly, you say that when the provinces have gone into A, B or C sections they will be entitled as groups to vote in favour of provinces being free to form groups with executives and legislatures and each group should determine the provincial steps to be taken in common. Then the third stage arises, when a provincial legislature and executive and a group legislature and executive are formed, the provincial legislature can opt out of that group. My point is this. Supposing in such a system the grouping as such, not the province as such,

decides by a majority vote to have no provincial legislature and no provincial executive but to have a group legislature and a group executive, automatically therefore if this resolution is carried, then the option that you envisage in 3 disappears so far as that province is concerned, because that province will have no legislature of its own under the new arrangement, not by its own option but by a joint vote of the group, and therefore it will be deprived of the option of getting out, because there will be no legislature to vote at all; there will be only the group legislature. Therefore in that contingency, if there is a lacuna at all, would you give the option to the existing legislature to exercise that option in case any group decides to have no provincial legislature at all?

Question : (as summarised by Sir S. Cripps): In view of the various provisions which are made as regard the provinces coming into groups and going out of groups and the powers of the groups of setting their constitutions, is it not possible that a group might settle a constitution for the group without any provincial legislature at all? In that case there would be no body to decide to opt out.

Answer : I do congratulate the questioner upon his great ingenuity. He has tried to imagine something arising which would be exceedingly foolish on the part of those who were responsible for it and which might conceivably lead to an impasse. All I can say in the first place with regard to that is this : that in writing down the words in our Statement we presumed, and I think we had good reason to presume, that the representatives from different parts of India who came together would be intelligent and wise people. I am not going to say for one moment that when those representatives came there and irrespective of all reason and all commonsense they wanted to tie the constitution up into such knots, so that it would not function, I certainly would not say that they could not do it, but I think on a reasonable interpretation, we may assume that will not be the case. Paragraph 15 (3) says 'all subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces' and I should have thought that would

rule out the possibility of a group or a section having met together and taking all the powers away from the provinces, and in my broadcast last night in which I did attempt to explain to some extent what is in this document, I distinctly pointed out, if I am right, that there would be at the top the Union legislature and executive, and at the bottom there would be the provincial legislature and executive, and I cannot imagine a group or a section taking into its head to rule out the possibility of a provincial legislature and executive. I cannot imagine that after having agreed to come into it, the first thing a province would do is to get out of it. But, as I said, the real fact is that we assumed that they are intelligent and, I am quite sure, wise human beings coming together to do something sensible and not to meet with the express purpose of tying up the constitution into knots.

Question : I am very glad about what you said, because I also do not envisage such a possibility. Since you have taken so much pains to leave the option there that possibility might have been envisaged. But I should be very glad if my interpretation of what you suggest is correct. You say that subjects other than the Union subjects and residuary powers should vest in the provinces. I taks it, that should any such emergency arise, the very fact of this clause 3 being there will be sufficient for the provincial representatives to refuse a grouping of that kind, because that would militate, I take it from you, against clause 3.

Answer : I do not think we need go into it much further. If there were people so foolish as to make the mistake which our friend here suggests, I should imagine there are a sufficient number of wise and sensible people who would see that things are put right. I think that an intelligent interpretation of all the clauses and sections in this proposal would give them ample ground to do so.

Question : So far as Group C is concerned, it consists of Assam and Bengal, the former under a Congress ministry and the latter under a Muslim League ministry. Supposing the

Legislature which is Congress decides not to join that group, what would be the position?

Answer: This Statement puts the position thus, that these sections meet in the form in which it is intended in this Statement, and the right to opt out comes afterwards, for this reason that it is intended that the whole picture should be understood before the option is exercised. I may say to those of you who were present last night, and I expect the great bulk of you were present, Sir Stafford Cripps, if I remember aright, did deal very comprehensively with this point. Possibly you would not wish him to repeat it all over again but if it is necessary I think he will be quite willing to do so.

Question: Just as the provinces have the right to opt out of the groups, will they have the right to secede from the Indian Union, say within two years?

Answer: They will not have the right to opt out in the period of two years, but they will have a right to ask for a revision of the constitution at the end of ten years.

Question: There being no mention in the document of the relationship between the Union Constituent Assembly and the Group Constituent Assembly, would the Group Constituent Assembly stand in the same relationship to the Union Constituent Assembly as the Negotiating Committee of the States?

Answer: That is a matter of course which is entirely left open for discussion during the process of the constitution-making machinery. The fewer things we wanted to lay down we thought the better. We did not want to decide the constitution at all. We would have been glad to have made no provision about the constitution, because it is a matter for Indians to decide their constitution, not for us. The only reason why we have laid down anything at all in the nature of a basic form of the constitution is because it was brought home to us that unless we did so, the constitution-making machinery would not be

set up at all, and therefore, the fewer the things that we have recommended in advance, the better both from our point of view and from the point of view of India.

Question : I thought you had made the point clear in your earlier reply. So far as the Union Constituent Assembly is concerned the Group as such has no function. There the delegates will be in their individual capacity, and therefore the question of the relationship between the Group and the Union Constituent Assembly ought not to arise.

Answer : You must not confuse the constitution and the Constituent Assembly. They come as representatives to the Constituent Assembly in the form in which it is set out here, but they can make a constitution in any way they like, subject only to certain rules, and the relationship between the Group and the Union will be one of the matters which can be decided by the Constituent Assembly.

Question : Will this regrouping take place before or after this Constituent Assembly?

Answer : There is no regrouping. After the Group have decided the constitution for the Group and for the provinces within it, and after the whole constitution has been passed and after the next elections have taken place, the provinces can then opt to get out of the Group in which they have been placed.

Question : The Constituent Assembly will draw its representatives from the provinces. When will the grouping of provinces task place—before or after?

Answer : It really is all set out in this document. Para 19, sub-sections (vi) to (viii) make it perfectly clear.

Question : It is said that the Union should have the power necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects. Does it mean that it will be open to the Constituent Assembly to endow the Union with all powers of taxation, including customs, income tax and other forms of taxation?

Answer : Under this Statement, it is left open to the Constituent Assembly to interpret the words relating to finance. But I would remind my friend that all that is subject to this one provision under para 19 (vii).

Question : You have divided the Indian nation into three categories. General, Muslim and Sikh. Was this done in consultation with the Parties?

Answer : This Statement is our own Statement, and it does not necessarily represent the opinion of anybody in India, but it is put out after we have had discussions on all these matters with different Indians and it is our intention to reach the most likely method which will be accepted by the different parties.

Question : Have Congress agreed to come under the term 'all other non-Muslims'?

Answer : We have not put this out on the basis that anybody agreed; it is our own Statement and stands on its own footing.

Question : May I know if the Nationalist Muslims, the Shias and others will be covered by this term 'Muslims'?

Answer : It is not 'Muslim League', it is 'Muslims'.

Question : In para 13 you have rejected the Congress suggestion to divide the subjects into 'compulsory' and 'optional'. Do you contemplate the application of some rule of uniformity of subjects as well, because under the 1935 Act, each State has the right to have its own instrument of accession.

Answer : We think it undesirable at this stage to predicate precisely what the position of the States will be, and in these circumstances we have not put into this document the relationship of the States after this is done. It will be a matter ultimately for the persons who go to the constitution-making

body on behalf of the States to agree to the exact nature of the form in which they are in the Union of India.

Question : In para 14, it is said, 'It by no means follows that it will be identical for all the State.' Does that imply only during the period of negotiations, while the constitutional structure is being built up, or even afterwards?

Answer : I am sure the questioner appreciates the enormous difference between one State and another. For instance in the case of Hyderabad you have a State with a very large population, and on the other hand you have very small tiny States which contain only very few people with a revenue of less than a lakh of rupees. Obviously there must be a complete difference in the approach to one State and another. If we are to go into all that in this document, if we are going to wait before all that has been settled before we go on with the constitution-making we might have to wait for a very long period. It is for that reason we have purposely left the matter over and wanted to go on with the main job.

Question : Would it be incumbent on every State to be represented through the Negotiating Committee or would some big States have the right to stand out and negotiate on a plane of complete equality?

Answer : It is not for me to decide whether particular States should be represented or not. I naturally hope that the bulk of the States would take some share in negotiating general terms on which the States should come into the constitution. We have already had indications from the States, most of the principal States and others representing large bodies of other States, that they have no desire to impede the progress of India towards self-government and independence and every one of them wants to co-operate. I am not speaking necessarily on behalf of all of them, but I believe it is the general wish of nearly all to co-operate

Question : The question arises out of this, whereas certain provinces are comulsorily grouped in certain groups, are the States also necessarily grouped under the Negotiating Committee or not?

Answer : Our relations with the States are different from our relations with the provinces. We would have been very pleased if leaders of thought in British India, in every province, had chosen themselves, but in default of their choice, in order to get on with the constitution-making machinery, we made certain recommendations and certain means of summoning the constitution-making body for British India. We are not in the same position as regards the States, but we hope very much that they will come in and we have good ground for thinking so, but the precise method of bringing them in has not yet been decided upon.

Question : What would be the status of the States in the interim period? Will they be as at present under the Political Department or will they be wholly independent?

Answer : They remain as they are during the interim period, but obviously coming events cast their shadows before. and naturally when you are working up a new constitution things are constantly changing, and during that interim period constitution-making will go on and the States will presumably be taking their share in that constitution-making, so that the whole picture will be presumably ready at the same time.

Question : Is it realised that the influence of the Political Department is of such a character that it will not be helpful to the development of constitution-making?

Answer : I have no reason to think so. I do not think I can go beyond that.

Question : If the subjects of any State revolt for the establishment of self-government, will the interim Central Govern-

ment help the Ruler of that State to crush the revolt? Or will it help the nationalist cause.

Answer : I am afraid that question is outside our present discussions; it is a matter for the Crown Representative to predict precisely what they will be. That is part of the normal procedure, and I should certainly not like to go into all that.

Question : As far as representation in the Constituent Assembly of the Indian States is concerned, is it the intention that representation should reflect the strength of the different communities, Hindus and Muslims, in the States as they would be in British India?

Answer : It is quite impossible to predict in advance what is going to happen in the States. As I have already indicated, of course the hope is that the representatives who come from the States will represent the opinion in those States in those forms, but what precisely will be done I cannot say. We have not reached the stage when the matter has been investigated, let alone decided.

Question : I was not thinking of representatives reflecting Indian States opinion as much as representatives of Hindu and Muslim population. The idea seems to be to have representation of Hindus and Muslims on a population basis in British India. I was wondering whether the same principle would be applied with regard to the population of the States? I have in mind the Hyderabad State where out of a population of 16 millions, the Muslims are only 8½ per cent. Is it the idea that representatives from Hyderabad will reflect the Hindu and Muslim population strengths in the Constituent Assembly?

Answer : Obviously the question is one which will be taken into account in these negotiations that you are going to initiate. I certainly cannot tell you how those negotiations are going to be decided before they even start.

Question : Arising out of the previous answer on the relations of Groups and Union, the position does not seem to be quite clear. It is not a hypothetical difficulty. If, say, from section B which in fact means the Muslim League, a majority stood by the Programme of the League and were to proclaim themselves a sovereign State, would that be possible under the constitutional arrangement, or would you prevent that, and would the subsequent relation with the Union Centre be then a matter of negotiations in the same way as between the States and the Union?

Answer : The question definitely states they will form a sovereign State outside the Union. The answer to that is, it will be prejudicial to the conditions under which all these people meet together for the purpose of making a constitution, therefore the constitution-making machinery would break down if they persisted in this. That would be contrary to the understanding on which these people are coming together. If they come together on the understanding with which we are inviting them, that presumes an honourable acceptance of the major premises, and if they were to repudiate that later on, then it would be a breach of the understanding.

Question : Am I right in assuming that the paramountcy of the British Crown will be enforced until such time as the three sections of the constitution-making body come to an agreement regarding the Union Centre?

Answer : Yes, that is quite right. Paramountcy will continue during the interim period, and when the interim period is over—which cannot be before and will be almost immediately following upon what the questioner has put—then paramountcy comes to an end.

Question : Arising out of the question you answered a little while ago regarding the Group B provinces not being entitled under the terms of the Statement to declare them-

selves sovereign States and refusing to come into the Union, would it be open to Group B provinces to take that attitude at the time of the revision after ten years? Could they then revise the present constitution and come together as sovereign States?

Answer : The answer is that of course if the constitution is being revised, all sorts of proposals for its revision will be open to discussion. Whether they will be carried will be quite another question.

Question : Arising out of Section 22, it will be necessary to negotiate a treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power. I want to know whether this treaty can be freely entered into after the constitution has been formed, or after the Constituent Assembly is formed? Could you throw more light on what those certain matters arising out of the transfer of power will be and whether this treaty will be with the all-India Union, (which means also the Indian States), or with British India, and there will be separate treaties with Indian States?

Answer : The answer to the first question of time is quite clear. It will be when the constitution is ready. Of course it will be negotiated in the intervening period in order to prevent delay. With regard to the matters it contains I should have thought that it was obvious that there would be questions of finance and foreign relationship, and clearly any body that is becoming a sovereign state, if it is entirely outside the British Commonwealth, then a sovereign independent State will have a number of matters which it will want to settle with a country which has been so closely associated with it. It will settle those on an entirely equal footing. With regard to the third point, on the assumption that there emerges from this constitutional machinery a constitution with a Union Centre, quite clearly it will be with that Union that the treaty will have to be negotiated and not with one part of it.

Question : Did you consider the question of putting a time on the formation of these different constitutions, and further whether you could give any estimate? If you did not, what time do you think will be occupied by the various stages?

Answer : Of course we did consider whether we should put a time limit on this thing, and we came to the conclusion that it was not for us to decide. It entirely rests with the Indians who are going to make the constitution. The making of a constitution is a very difficult thing, and it entirely depends on how many people want to discuss it and how far there are preparations in advance. I do not think it is for us to put a time limit on what Indians are proposing to do. If Indians like to make this decision so, they can do it if they choose. In Section 19, Sub-section 4, it says 'a preliminary meeting will be held in which the general business will be decided.' If Indians want to put a time limit on their labours, that is for them to decide.

As to whether we have any estimate of time, I answer, no. It depends entirely on details and how many people want to talk. I know in the House of Commons it all depends on how many people want to discuss the matter whether it can be agreed to or not. Sometimes where it looks that a question can be settled in ten minutes it takes ten hours, and where a question is expected to take ten hours it is decided in ten minutes. But there are quite a lot of very important matters which affect the whole future of India to be discussed, and quite obviously you cannot rush them beyond a point. So far as we are concerned, the quicker the thing is done the better we shall feel.

Question : In view of the intolerable political conditions in the Indian territory ruled by the Portuguese and the French in Pondicherry, what will be the attitude of Great Britain in view of her long-standing friendship with Portugal and France in case the Union legislature were to serve the 'Quit India' order upon them? Will you eliminate them or keep quite?

Answer : It is of the essence of our scheme that foreign affairs shall be a Union subject, and that being so, it will be

quite clearly for the Union Government to deal with this matter when it comes into being and that being so I do not think we can say anything in advance in regard to it.

Question: During the interim period what will be the position of the India Office and presumably the Secretary of State?

Answer: As I said before, coming events cast their shadows before, and already I can tell you, before this statement was made, many months ago, the India Office had already been proceeding on the assumption that the time will come when great changes will be made in India and the whole position of the India Office will be altered. Naturally if this constitution-making machinery goes on, that process will be rapidly accelerated, and the India Office will be starting to make the transfers which at the end of the period will either be complete or will certainly be arranged to be wound up. You have to remember that the India Office may do a great many things you do not like. But quite apart from all that, it is an enormous administrative machine and it is going to be part of the new set-up in India. All that vast administrative machine will be at the disposal of the new constitution in India, and the transfer will have to be carried through.

Sir Stafford Cripps points out to me that I have not made it clear.

There are an immense number of files dealing with all sorts of matters which are subjects of administration. Now the new Government in India will want to have those files and they will want to be able to handle the administration of India not from scratch but to be able to carry forward the administration and that there should be no break or high hedges and difficulties. I say that transfer will not only begin from today but it has been going on for some time and it will be carried on at a greater rate when this constitutional machinery is set up and it will reach its final stage when the new Government actually comes into being.

When it came to be examined it was found that there was no point in changing the name so long as the substance of things remained. It was simple to leave it where it was, but when the substance changes then you may be quite sure that the India Office will gradually with its apparatus be transferred to the control of the new Government.

Question : While the interim Government is functioning will it function as a **de facto** independent government and within that period will the India Office cease to function in fact if not in law?

Answer : I do not think that could be so. If you think it out carefully you could not make that change completely at the present time, but you may be perfectly sure that all that will be taken into account.

Question : During the interim period will the Viceroy exercise his veto in the same manner as he is entitled to exercise it now, or will it be subject to the same convention which applies in the provinces today, by mutual consent but not within the constitution, between the provincial Governor and his ministers?

Answer : That is a question really for the Viceroy. The Viceroy is negotiating at the present time with the various parties on the assumption that the constitution-making body is to be set up, and I do not propose to express any views on what is primarily the Viceroy's function.

Question : Under paragraph 19 where the table of representation is given of the number of representatives to be elected from each province, does the title 'general' include European members of the present Assembly?

Answer : The answer of course is Yes. You must remember that the basis now is population and in view of the small number of the European population they would not figure very

largely in the result. They will take part in proportional representation in the election.

Question : In Bengal they have twenty-five votes. In the grouping of Bengal and Assam they will have an almost decisive influence.

Answer : The position is this, that when each section, General, Muslim or Sikh, as the case may be, elect their own representatives, it would not have any effect at all. They will be in the group which is electing in Bengal.

Question : On the question of the States, in the event of some one State or more States choosing to remain outside the Indian Union and continue their present relationship with the British Government, what happens then?

Answer : I cannot predict what will take place, but it seems to me to be a very difficult relationship. In paragraph 14 it is stated, 'It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognized by those whom we interviewed from the States.' What precisely will happen under those circumstances I cannot predict, but those are the facts. That really is the answer to your question.

Question : Then conceivably they might remain as independent countries?

Answer : It may be conceivable, but of course this paragraph goes on to say: 'They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure. I cannot go

beyond that. The existing relationship quite clearly being altered, paramountcy does not remain. They have expressed their intention to co-operate: they are willing to negotiate.

Question : If you can make these mandatory recommendations for these provinces, do you want us to believe that you have no power to make similar recommendations about the States?

Answer : The answer is that our relationship with the provinces and States are quite different. The second answer is that we are not making mandatory provisions for the provinces at all. What we are doing is, we are endeavouring to set up a constitution-making machinery for all the provinces. If the Indians concerned had been willing to set up their own constitution-making machinery we should have said nothing about it at all. It is only with the intention of bringing them together that we have put forward this Statement. The position with regard to the States is quite different. Our relationship with the States is quite different, and the best way of securing their co-operation, we believe, is in the form in which we have set it out in this document.

Question : Are you aware of the discontent among the States' peoples that none of their representatives had been invited to meet the Mission?

Answer : There are a great many things going on in India about which a great many people are not happy. I do not think I would go beyond that. It is just for all those reasons that this matter will have to be dealt with carefully, and we thought that it would be better not to make any rigid proposals with regard to the States. I do not think it would have been in the interests either of the people in the States or the people in the provinces. I am quite satisfied that the rather vague and loose way in which we propose to deal with it is at the moment the method which is most likely to bring the results which all of us desire.

Question : Have you examined and excluded currency from the list of Union subjects? If so, on what grounds?

Answer : No. I do not think we can explain exactly whether we have considered this, that or the other question and excluded it. Currency is a question which can be discussed if necessary in the constitution-making body, if it is thought that that is a matter which can be reasonably included. If all the sections think so, there is no reason why it should not be included. We do not want to impose it. It is a matter for Indians to decide.

Question : If the constitution-making body decides preliminary to proceeding with their work that the British troops should be withdrawn from India, will they be withdrawn?

Answer : I think that is a misunderstanding of the situation. Someone must be responsible for law and order in a country. We are anxious to hand over that responsibility in so far as it remains at the earliest opportunity to a fully constituted Indian Government. There is no fully constituted Indian Government now. As a matter of fact the Indian Governments in the provinces are really responsible for law and order, but the ultimate responsibility for law and order rests in the Government of India, and we are anxious to transfer that as early as possible to a properly constituted Government. When that time comes we will make that transfer.

Question : Do you mean to say that no law and order can be maintained in India without British troops?

Answer : I won't make any postulate of that kind. I would only say, in all countries the final sanction for law and order is the force of the Government, and so long as that responsibility rests with us we cannot dispense with the means which enables us to carry it through. It is not my wish that it should be used. It is our desire that, at the earliest possible moment when the new Government is set up, different arrangements should be made.

Question : In the interim period would Lord Wavell be able to change the constitutional position of the present Executive Council?

Answer : The present constitutional position of the Executive Council is laid down by statute. Quite clearly Lord Wavell cannot change that and, as I have already said, the whole constitutional machinery rests primarily with him. But as to the final statutory and legal position, that can only be changed by an Act of Parliament, and personally I think it would be unwise to start with that now when we are so very near the real final change, which is the really important thing, namely the complete transference of power from our country to an independent Indian Government.

Question : What will be the next stage of activity of the Cabinet Delegation?

Answer : The first thing is to get this plan accepted by the two main communities in India. That will be carried through as speedily as possible.

Question : Do you want it to be accepted by the two main communities, or parties?

Answer : Both.

Question : In Section B of para. 19 (1), in the Punjab there are sixteen Muslim seats. Will those be voted for by all the Muslims together or will they be allocated separately between the different parties amongst the Muslims?

Answer : They are voted for by all the Muslims together, but the election is by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote.

Question : In view of paragraph 15 (6), does it mean that the Union constitution will only be inviolable for ten years?

Answer: What it does mean is that the Constituent Assembly will lay down provision enabling the constitution, and there would be a revision of the constitution. This is in accordance with what has taken place in a great many other cases in the world and there must be some provision for revision. Precisely what the conditions of revision are will be a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide. I do not think I can go any further into that. What the basis of revision will be after a period of years and the precise terms thereof, how that revision shall be gone into, will no doubt be decided by the Constituent Assembly.

Question : Can the provincial Assembly elect people outside its membership?

Answer : Yes, that is not excluded by the terms of the Statement.

Question : Can the representatives referred to in para. 19 (1) be from any part of India or from any legislature, or should the representatives be confined to the voters of the respective provinces only? In other words, can the representative under para. 19 (1) be any Indian citizen, or must he be from any particular category?

Answer : I can only go by the text of the document. 'There shall be elected by each provincial legislative assembly'; it does not say, 'from among its numbers'.

Question : Did you consider the desirability of appointing a boundary commission?

Answer : As I explained to you, all sorts of things were considered which of course do not figure in this document.

Question : What is the position of the Minority Commission with regard to the Constituent Assembly, and in case of a clash of opinions, whose voice will prevail?

Answer: You cannot appoint a minority commission assuming it is composed largely of minorities and give it absolute right as against the main constitution-making body. We have every reason to hope that the minority committee formed of responsible people will make representation which I should have thought would be in the interest of all parties and would carry great weight with the constitution-making body.

Question : Is this Statement final or will you entertain suggestions made by various parties? Is this document final or is it intended starting negotiations all over again?

Answer : We do not propose to modify that document, because if we start modifying it in favour of one set of people, it will almost certainly be unfair to another set of people. If after discussing it all parties agree to come in and they agree to some small modifications, then I do not say we shall absolutely stick to the last word in the document. But it is not a document to be modified in favour of 'A' to the disadvantage of 'B'. I am not talking of Groups.

Question : Is participation in the interim Government subject to the acceptance of the proposals or is it independent?

Answer : Unless you have a constitutional machinery functioning I cannot see any question of interim Government. It is not an interim Government, it is a change of government, and essentially the interim Government is that which functions in the interim while the constitutional machinery is not yet in operation. That is how I interpret the term 'interim Government'.

(Hear end oral questions)

Written Questions

Question : What will be the composition of the various parties in the interim Government? What will be the percentage of Muslims?

Answer : As I have already explained, the question of the interim Government is not for us to decide. It is primarily a question for the Viceroy, and I do not propose to intervene in his sphere.

Question : Can a province opt out of a Group at the appropriate time and join another group which may be willing to take it in? For instance, could Bihar opt out of Group A and join Group B, if the latter were willing?

Answer : On a general point, I have already answered it.

Question : If after the constitution-making machinery has been set up as laid down in the Statement, the majority proceed to disregard some of the conditions and checks prescribed, who will intervene?

Answer : I have already answered that. The assumption is that if people accept this document and enter on the basis of it, they enter as honourable people willing to carry out the terms. Of course, if you are going to deal with dishonourable people who break their word, then we cannot proceed with any job. We proceed on the assumption that the parties who come into the scheme behave honourably.

Question : Is Mr. Churchill correct in suggesting that what he calls the shifting of the onus of deciding the future constitution from Indians to H. M. G. is an unfortunate step going beyond the understood purpose and mandate of the Mission?

Answer : There has been no shifting. If we could arrange by agreement between parties in India the basis of the constitution under which they would have to come together in the constitution-making body, nothing would have pleased us better. In default of that, we thought it our duty to make certain recommendations on the basis of which they come together. The Viceroy is prepared to summon the constitution-making body on that basis and we believe this is in accord with the wishes

not only of a majority of Indians but a majority of our own people at home.

Question : Mr. Churchill complains that the sentence relating to States treaties and paramountcy is obscure. Can you clear up the alleged obscurity?

Answer : I have endeavoured to do that in answer to a great number of questions. I do not think there is any obscurity to clear up. I hope I have succeeded in clearing up all obscurities.

Question : What legislative steps will be required for setting up the interim Government, the creation of the new constitution and abrogation of the King's title of Emperor of India?

Answer : So far as the first two are concerned, no legislative steps are necessary at all. They can all be done forthwith. So far as the ultimate step is concerned, having regard to the matter of constitutional law, I could not answer off-hand. Speaking without consideration, I am not at all sure that a precise statute will be required for it. But I should not like that to be taken as final. They will of course naturally have to be accorded sanction. There has to be some definite step taken with the consent of H. M. the King. But I do not contemplate any difficulty about that at all as the present Labour Government have a considerable working majority in the House of Commons and I do not imagine that any serious difficulties will be experienced in carrying things through when they have been agreed to.

Question : Do you agree with Mr. Churchill when he implies that you have laboured not to gain an Empire but to cast it away?

Answer : I can only say this, that what we are doing is in accord with the views that have been expressed all through by really great statesmen in our country and nothing can redound more to the highest traditions of liberty which pre-

vail in my country than if, as a result of our labours, we have in the years to come a sovereign country here in India whose relationship with ours is one of friendliness and equality in the days to come.

I hope we have satisfied your appetite for information, and I think you will agree that I have not shirked any of the issues and that I have tried my best to answer your questions.

1946

193. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, broadcast from All-India Radio on 17th May 1946 as follows.

I speak to the people of India at the most critical hour of India's history. The statement of the Cabinet Delegation containing their recommendations has now been before you for twenty-four hours. It is a blueprint for freedom, an outline of which your representatives have to fill in the details and construct the building.

You will have studied the statement, most of you, and may perhaps already have formed your opinion on it. If you think that it shows a path of reaching the summit at which you have been aiming for so long, the independence of India, I am sure you will be eager to take it. If you should have formed the view—I hope you have not—that there is no passage that way, I hope that you will study again the route indicated to you, and see whether the difficulties in the path—and we know they are formidable—cannot be surmounted by skill and patience and boldness.

I can assure you of this, that very much hard work, very much earnest study, very much anxious thought, and all the goodwill and sincerity at our command have gone to the making of these recommendations. We would much have preferred that the Indian leaders should have themselves reached agreement on the course to be followed, and we have done our best to persuade them; but it has not been found possible, in

spite of concessions on both sides which at one time promised results.

These proposals put before you are obviously not those that any one of the parties would have chosen if left to itself; but I do believe that they offer a reasonable and workable basis on which to found India's future constitution. They preserve the essential unity of India which is threatened by the dispute between the two major communities; and in especial they remove the danger of the disruption of that great fellowship the Indian Army, to which India already owes so much and on whose strength, unity and efficiency her future security will depend. They offer to the Muslim community the right to direct their own essential interests, their religion, their education, their culture, their economic and other concerns in their own way and to their own best advantage. To another great community, the Sikhs, they preserve the unity of their homeland, the Punjab, in which they have played and can still play so important and influential a part. They provide, in the Special Committee which forms a feature of the constitution-making machinery, the best change for the smaller minorities to make their needs known and to secure protection for their interests They seek to arrange a means for the Indian States, great and small, to enter by negotiation into the policy of a united India. They offer to India the prospect of peace—a peace from party strife, the peace so needed for all the constructive work there is to do. And they give you the opportunity of complete independence so soon as the Constituent Assembly has completed its labours.

I would like to emphasize the constructive work to be done. If you can agree to accept the proposals in the Statement as a reasonable basis on which to work out your constitution, then we are able at once to concentrate all the best efforts and abilities in India on the short-term problems that are so urgent. You know them well—the immediate danger of famine to be countered, and measures taken to provide more food for everyone in future years; the health of India to be remedied; great schemes of wider education to be initiated: roads

to be built and improved; and much else to be done to raise the standard of living of the common man. There are also great schemes in hand to control India's water supplies, to extend irrigation, to provide power, to prevent floods; there are factories to be built and new industries to be started; while in the outside world India has to take place in international bodies in which her representatives have already established a considerable reputation.

It is therefore my earnest desire that in these critical times ahead, in the interim period while the new constitution is being built, the Government of India should be in the hands of the ablest of India's leaders, men recognised as such by the Indian people, whom they will trust to further their interests and bring them to their goal.

As said in the Statement, I am charged with the responsibility to form such a Government as soon as possible, to direct the affairs of British India in the interim period. There will be no doubt in the minds of anyone, I hope, how great a step forward this will be on India's road to self-government. It will be a purely Indian Government except for its head, the Governor-General; and will include, if I can get the men I want, recognized leaders of the main Indian parties, whose influence, ability and desire to serve India are unquestioned.

Such a Government must have a profound influence and power not only in India, but also in the outside world. Some of the best ability in India, which has hitherto been spent in opposition, can be harnessed to constructive work. These men can be the architects of the new India.

No constitution and no form of government can work satisfactorily without goodwill; with goodwill and determination to succeed even an apparently illogical arrangement can be made to work. In the complex situation that faces us there are four main parties: the British; the two main parties in British India, Hindus and Muslims; and the Indian States. From all of them very considerable change of their present

outlook will be required as a contribution to the general good, if this great experiment is to succceed. To make concession in ideas and principles is a hard thing and not easily palatable. It requires some greatness of mind to recognise the necessity, much greatness of spirit to make the concession. I am sure that this will not be found wanting in India, as I think you will admit that it has not been found wanting in the British people in this offer.

I wonder whether you realise that this is the greatest and most momentous experiment in government in the whole history of the world—a new constitution to control the destiny of 400,000,000 people. A grave responsibility indeed on all of us who are privileged to assist in making it.

Lastly, I must emphasise the seriousness of the choice before you. It is the choice between peaceful construction or the disorder of civil strife, between co-operation or disunity, between ordered progress or confusion. I am sure you will not hesitate in your choice for co-operation.

May I end with some words which were quoted by one great man to another at a crisis of the late war, and may well be applied to India at this crisis :

"Thou too, sail on, O Ship of State
Sail on, O Union, strong and great:
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate."

1946

194. The Quaid's statement, dated 22nd May 1946, on the Cabinet Mission proposals.

I have now before me the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated May 15. Before I deal with it I should like to give a background of the discus-

sions that took place at Simla from May 5 onwards till the conference was declared concluded and its breakdown announced in the official communique dated May 12.

We met in conference on May 5 to consider the formula embodied in the letter of the Secretary of State for India dated April 27 inviting the League representatives.

The formula was as follows :

A Union Government dealing with the following subjects: foreign affairs, defence and communications.

There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights.

Muslim League Demands

The Muslim League position was that :

Firstly, the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India constituted Pakistan zones and should be constituted as a sovereign, independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.

Secondly, that separate constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions.

Thirdly, that minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the Lahore resolution.

Fourthly, that the acceptance of the League demand and its implementation without delay were a **sine qua non for** League co-operation and participation in the formulation of an Interim Government at the Centre.

Fifthly, it gave a warning to the British Government against any attempt to impose a federal constitution on a united India basis or forcing any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the League demand and that Muslim India would resist if any attempt to impose it were made. Besides such an attempt would be the grossest breach of faith of the declaration of His Majesty's Government made in August 1940 with the approval of the British Parliament and subsequent pronouncements by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible British statesmen from time to time reaffirming the August declaration.

No Commitments

We accepted the invitation to attend the conference without prejudice and without any commitment and without accepting the fundamental principles underlying this short formula of the Mission on the assurance given by the Secretary of State for India in his letter dated April 29 wherein he said: "We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

The Congress position in reply to the invitation was stated in their letter of April 28 that a strong Federal Government at the Centre with present provinces as the federating units be established and they laid down that foreign affairs, defence, currency, customs, tariffs "and such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to

them" should vest in the Central Federal Government. They negatived the idea of grouping of provinces. However, they also agreed to participate in the conference to discuss the formula of the Cabinet Delegation.

Final Offer to Congress

After days of discussion no appreciable progress was made, and finally I was asked to give our minimum terms in writing. Consequently, we embodied certain fundamental principles of our terms in writing as an offer to the Congress in the earnest desire for a peaceful and amicable settlement and for the speedy attainment of freedom and independence of the peoples of India. It was communicated to the Congress on May 12 and a copy of it was sent to the Cabinet Delegation at the same time.

(Here Mr. Jinnah enumerates the ten points made out in the memorandum.)

The crux of our offer, as will appear from its text, was **inter alia** that the six Muslim provinces should be grouped together as the Pakistan group and the remaining as the Hindustan group and on the basis of two federations we were willing to consider a Union or confederation strictly confined to three subjects only, i.e., foreign affairs, defence and communications necessary for defence which the two sovereign federations would voluntarily delegate to the confederation. All the remaining subjects and the residue were to remain vested in the two federations and the provinces, respectively.

Transitional Provision

This was intended to provide for a transitional period as after an initial period of ten years we were free to secede from the Union. But unfortunately this most conciliatory and reasonable offer was in all its fundamentals not accepted by the Congress as will appear from their reply to our offer. On the contrary their final suggestions were the same as regards

the subjects to be vested with the Centre as they had been before the Congress entered the Conference and they made one more drastic suggestion for our acceptance that the Centre "must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies". This was stated in their reply dated May 12 which was communicated to us.

At this stage the conference broke down and we were informed that the British Cabinet Delegation would issue their statement which is now before the public.

Cryptic Statement

To begin with the statement is cryptic with several lacunae and the operative part of it comprises a few short paragraphs to which I shall refer later.

I regret that the mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete sovereign State of Pakistan which we still hold is the only solution of the constitutional problems of India and which alone can secure stable governments and lead to the happiness and welfare not only of the two major communities but of all the peoples of this subcontinent.

It is all the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought fit to advance commonplace and exploded arguments against Pakistan and resorted to special pleadings couched in a deplorable language which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India.

It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress because when they come to face the realities they themselves have made the following pronouncement embodied in paragraph 5 of the statement which says: "This consideration did not however deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine

and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule".

"This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests".

Muslim Apprehensions

And again in paragraph 12: "This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element".

And now what recommendations have they made to effectively secure the object in view and in the light of the very clear and emphatic conclusion they arrived at in paragraph 12 of the statement?

Division of Pakistan

(1) They have divided Pakistan into two, what they call Section B (for the north-western zone) and Section C (for the north-eastern zone).

(2) Instead of two constitution-making bodies only one constitution-making body is devised with these Sections A, B and C.

(3) They lay down that "there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects: 'foreign affairs, defence and communications and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects." There is no indication at all that the communications would be restricted

to what is necessary for defence nor is there any indication as to how this Union will be empowered to raise the finances required for these three subjects while our view was that finance should be raised only by contribution and not by taxation.

Union with Legislature

(4) It is laid down that "the Union should have an executive and a legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting".

While our view was:

(a) That there should be no legislature for the Union but the question should be left to the Constituent Assembly to decide.

(b) That there should be parity of representation between the Pakistan group and the Hindustan group in the Union executive and legislature if any, and

(c) That no decision legislative, executive or administrative should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of a controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourths. All these three terms of our offer have been omitted from the statement.

Safeguarding Clause

No doubt there is one safeguard for the conduct of business in the Union legislature that "any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting". Even this is vague and

ineffective. To begin with who will decide and how as to what is a major communal issue and what is a purely non-Communal issue?

(5) Our proposal that the Pakistan group should have a right to secede from the Union after an initial period of ten years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted and now we are only limited to a reconsideration of the terms of the Union constitution after an initial period of ten years.

(6) Coming to the constitution-making machinery here again a representative of British Baluchistan is included in Section B but how he will be elected is not indicated.

Hindu Dominance

(7) With regard to the constitution-making body for the purpose of framing the proposed Union constitution it will have an overwhelming Hindu majority, as in a House of 292 for British India the Muslim strength will be 79 and if the number allotted to Indian States, 93, is taken into account it is quite obvious that the Muslim proportion will be further reduced as the bulk of the States representatives would be Hindus. This assembly so constituted will elect the chairman and other officers and, it seems, also the members of the advisory committee referred to in paragraph 20 of the statement by a majority and the same rule will apply also to other normal business. But I note that there is only one saving clause which runs as follows:

"In the Union constituent assembly resolution varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. The chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities consult the Federal Court before giving his decision."

It follows therefore that it will be the chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court nor need anybody know what that opinion is as the chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court.

With regard to the provinces opting out of their group it is left to the new legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution to decide instead of a referendum of the people as was suggested by us.

(3) As for paragraph 20 which runs as follows :

"The advisory committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected and their function will be to report to the Union constituent assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the provincial group or Union."

This raises a very serious question indeed. For if it is left to the Union constituent assembly to decide these matters by a majority vote whether any of the recommendations of the advisory committee should be incorporated in the Union constitution then it will open a door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principle that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects.

These are some of the main points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not wish to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League which are going to meet shortly at Delhi. They will finally take such decisions as they may think proper after a careful consideration of the pros and cons and a thorough and dispassionate examination of the statement.

1946

195. Statement issued in Delhi on 25th May 1946 by the Cabinet Mission.

1. The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated 22nd May and the resolution dated 24th May of the Working Committee of the Congress.

2. The position is that since the Indian leaders after prolonged discussion failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of cooperation.

3. The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

4. The authority and the function of the Constituent Assembly and the procedure which it is intended to allow are clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement. Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and works on this basis, there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its decisions. When the Constituent Assembly has completed its labour, His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which, we believe, are not controversial, namely, adequate provision for the protection of the minorities (paragraph 20 of the statement) and willingness to conduct a treaty with His Majesty's Government to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (paragraph 22 of the statement).

5. It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

6. The representative of Baluchistan will be elected in a joint meeting of the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta municipality.

7. In Coorg the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the election.

8. The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the statement, to the effect that the Provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the Section in which they are placed, does not acccord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for the grouping of the Provinces are well known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties. The right to opt out of the groups after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new provincial Constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

9. The question of how the State's representative should be appointed to the Constituent Assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

10. It is agreed that the interim Government will have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios including that of the War Member will be held by Indians and that the members will be selected in consultation with the Indian political parties. These are very significant changes in the Government of India and a long step towards independence. His Majesty's Government will recognize the effect of these changes, will attach the fullest weight to them and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

11. As the Congress statement recognizes, the present Constitution must continue during the interim period and the interim Government cannot, therefore, be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature. There is, however, nothing to prevent the members of the Government, individually or by common consent, from resigning if they fail to pass an important measure through the Legislature or if a vote of non-confidence is passed against them.

12. There is, of course, no intention of retaining British troops in India against the wish of an independent India under the new Constitution; but during the interim period, which it is hoped will be short, the British Parliament has under the present Constitution the ultimate responsibility for the security of India and it is necessary, therefore, that British troops should remain.

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190. The Cabinet Delegation issued the following statement on 25th May 1946, in answer to the objections of the Muslim League and the Congress.

The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated May 22 and the resolution dated May 24 of the Working Committee of the Congress.

The position is that since the Indian leaders, after prolonged discussion, failed to arrive at an arrangement, the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of cooperation.

The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

The authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly and the procedure which it is intended to follow are

clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement. Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and working on this basis, there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its labours. His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which we believe are not controversial, namely, adequate provision for the protection of the minorities (paragraph 20 of the statement) and willingness to conclude a treaty with His Majesty's Government to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (paragraph 22 of the statement).

It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

The representative of Baluchistan will be elected in a joint meeting of the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality.

In Coorg the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote, but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the election.

The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the statement to the effect that the provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for the grouping of the provinces are well known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties. The right to opt out of the groups after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new provincial constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue and all those entitled to vote under the

new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

The question of how the State's representatives should be appointed to the Constituent Assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

It is agreed that the Interim Government will have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios including that of the War Member will be held by Indians; and that the members will be selected in consultation with the Indian political parties. There are very significant changes in the Government of India, and a long step towards independence. H. M. G. will recognize the effect of these changes, will attach the fullest weight to them, and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

As the Congress statement recognizes, the present consultation must continue during the interim period and the interim Government cannot therefore be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature. There is, however, nothing to prevent the members of the Government individually or by common consent, from resigning, if they fail to pass an important measure through the legislature, of if a vote of no-confidence is passed against them.

1946

197. Statement by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy issued on 16th June 1946.

1. His Excellency the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, has for some time been exploring the possibilities of forming a Coalition Government drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. The discussions have revealed the difficulties which exist for

the two major parties in arriving at any agreed basis for the formation of such a Government.

2. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission appreciate these difficulties and the efforts which the two parties have made to meet them. They consider, however, that no useful purpose can be served by further prolonging these discussions. It is indeed urgently necessary that a strong and representative Interim Government should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through.

3. The Viceroy is, therefore, issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the constitution-making will proceed in accordance with the statement of May 16:

Sardar Baldev Singh
Sir N. P. Engineer
Mr. Jagjivan Ram
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Mr. M. A. Jinnah
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
Mr. H. K. Mahtab
Dr. John Matthai
Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan
Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

If any of those invited is unable for personal reasons to accept, the Viceroy will after consultation invite some other person in his place.

4. The Viceroy will arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.

5. The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available coalition Government.

6. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission believe that Indians of all communities desire to arrive at a speedy settlement of this matter so that the process of constitution-making can go forward and that the Government of India may be carried on as efficiently as possible in the meantime.

7. They, therefore, hope that all parties especially the two major parties will accept this proposal so as to overcome the present obstacles and will cooperate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted the Viceroy will aim at inaugurating the new Government about the 26th June.

8. In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

9. The Viceroy is also directing the Governors of the Provinces to summon the Provincial Legislative Assembly forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for setting up of the constitution-making machinery as put forward in the statement of May 16.

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198. Letter from the Quaid, as President of All-India Muslim League to Lord Pethick Lawrence, on 29th April, 1946.

I thank you for your letter of April 27, which I placed before my Working Committee yesterday morning.

My colleagues and I fully appreciate the further attempt that the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy are making to bring about an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress by proposing a meeting of the representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of nego-

tiating an agreement. They, however, desired me to invite your attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore Resolution in 1940 and, thereafter, successively endorsed by the All-India Muslim League session and again by the Convention of the Muslim League Legislators, as recently as April 9, 1946, as per copy enclosed.

The Working Committee desire to point out that many important matters both of principle and detail in your brief letter, require elucidation and clarification, which in their opinion, can be achieved at the meeting proposed by you.

Therefore, without prejudice of commitment, the Working Committee, in their anxiety to assist in finding an agreed solution of the Indian constitutional problem, have authorized me to nominate three representatives on behalf of the Muslim League to participate in the negotiations.

The following are the four names: (1) Mr. M. A. Jinnah, (2) Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, (3) Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and (4) Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

1 9 4 6

199. Quaid's Press statement on the Cabinet Mission proposals and the Congress stand thereon.

June 1946

I have considered the letter of the Congress President addressed to Lord Wavell dated June 25, the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress released to the Press yesterday, and the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy issued in New Delhi on June 26, but a copy of which has not yet been furnished to me.

Prior to the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16 and further statement of May 25, the Viceroy at Simla represented to me that he would proceed with the formation of an

Interim Government on the basis of the formula, 5 : 5 : 2, i.e. five on behalf of the Muslim League, five on behalf of the Conggress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important of them would be equally divided between the Congress and the Muslim League, further details being left open for discussion.

Original Formula

With the permission of the Viceroy I was authorised to state this formula to the Working Committee at Simla on the assumption that the long-term proposals would be such as would be acceptable to us. Thereafter, again, on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, in my interview on June 3, the Viceroy repeated the same formula and authorized me to communicate it to my Working Committee.

This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them together with the two statements of the Cabinet Delegation dated May 16 and May 25. The long-term plan and the Interim Government formula together formed one whole and this formula regarding the Interim Government was an integral part of the whole scheme and as such the Council of the All-India Muslim League gave its final decision on that basis on June 6.

Thereafter, the Viceroy sent for me on June 13 and he suggested a formula of 5 : 5 : 3. Owing to the agitation set on foot by the Congress Press and the opposition of the Congress to the original formula, I had already given a warning to the Viceroy in a letter on June 8 that any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, would lead to serious consequences and would not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League, and that I might have to call a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League again.

Revised Party Position

At my interview with the Viceroy on June 13 I was told by him that he wanted to change the basis of the original for-

mula and proceed on the basis of five Congress, five Muslim League and three others, i.e., one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. In spite of the difficulties that I had pointed out would arise, I informed the Viceroy that if the Congress were finally to agree to this new formula I would place it before my Working Committee for their consideration. But even this second proposal of the Viceroy was turned down by the Congress and His Excellency the Viceroy informed me by his letter dated June 15, that he had failed to negotiate an agreement on the basis which he had suggested and that the Cabinet Delegation and he had decided to issue their statement on June 16 on the action they proposed to take.

Accordingly, the statement of June 16 was issued to the Press and an advance copy was sent to me. These were, we were categorically informed, final and not open to any modification, except that the names in the statement could not be regarded as final until the Viceroy had received acceptances from those invited to take office in the Interim Government.

On June 19 I wrote to the Viceroy seeking certain clarification regarding the statement of June 16 to which a reply was received from him on June 20 after he had consulted the Cabinet Delegation. The following extracts are from that letter of the Viceroy in reply to questions put to him:

(1) 'Until I have received the acceptance of those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. No change is proposed to be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

(2) 'No change in the number of 14 members of the Interim Government will be made without agreement of the two major parties.

(3) 'If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties for filling it.

(4) (a and b) "The proportion of the members by communities will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties.

(5) "No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point".

League's Dilemma

I had by my letter of June 19 informed the Viceroy that in view of the serious changes which had from time to time been made to satisfy the Congress, it was not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of formation of the Interim Government, so long as the Congress did not convey their final decision on the proposals of June 16 to the Viceroy and until it was communicated to me.

It was finally arranged that the Congress should give their decision by June 23, and the League should give its decision on the same day or immediately thereafter. The reply of the Congress was, however not forthcoming till late in the evening of June 25 and I was asked to meet the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy the same evening. There I was furnished with a copy of the letter of the President of the Congress dated June 25.

According to the arrangement referred to above, I placed this reply before my Working Committee immediately, and the same day the Muslim League Working Committee adopted the following resolution which was communicated to the Viceroy the same night.

League's Resolution

'The President of the All-India Muslim League placed before the Working Committee a copy, furnished to him by the

Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation in the course of their interview with him this evening, of the letter of the Congress President addressed to the Viceroy, conveying the decision of the Congress with regard to the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contained in their statements of May 16 and June 16.

1. According to the understanding that the Muslim League Working Committee will give their decision after the Congress has decided, and, as desired by the Viceroy by the letter of his Private Secretary dated June 21 addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, that the decision of the Muslim League be communicated immediately after the reply of the Congress, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League hereby resolve to agree to join the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and his Excellency the Viceroy dated June 16, and the clarifications and assurances given by the Viceroy after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in his letter dated June 20, addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

2. The Working Committee cannot accept the contention of the Congress contained in the aforesaid letter that the Congress is entitled to adhere to its interpretation of some of the provisions in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated May 16 which is opposed to the interpretation and explanation embodied in the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on May 25.

3. With regard to the rest of the letter of the Congress President, the Working Committee reserve their observation for the present.

Postponement Regretted

I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their statement of

June 16 as that statement clearly says that the Viceroy aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26. It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure. The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the statement of June 16 and Clause 8 of the statement, taken along with the context, is quite clear and the Delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government immediately with those who were willing to come into the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their statement of June 16.

As regards the resolution of the Congress, I most emphatically repudiate their bogus claim that they represent India and their claim to 'national' character. The Congress are a Hindu organization and they do not represent any other community except the Caste Hindus. They certainly do not represent the Muslims and the mere fact that they have a handful of Muslim henchmen for the purpose of window-dressing cannot give them national character which they claim, nor the right to represent India upon which they keep on harping. This has been established beyond doubt in the recent elections, the results of which show that the Muslim League carried away 90 per cent of the total of Muslim seats in the various legislatures, and out of the remaining 10 per cent the Congress share does not amount to more than 4 per cent.

Congress Not "National" Body

The Congress, therefore, have no right to represent, or speak on behalf of, the Muslims and their refusal to accept the proposals for the formation of the interim Government is based on sinister motives. Firstly, they wanted to break the parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus. It was accepted by them at Simla last year at the conference called by the Viceroy in connection with the Wavell Proposals, and, secondly, their insistence on nominating a Congress Muslim is aimed at striking at the fundamentals of the League and its Muslim national

representative character and at attempting to establish a false claim that the Congress represents the Muslims, and the Muslim League is not a representative organization of Muslim India. As is pointed out above, the Congress claim is not true nor based upon facts and, therefore, the Muslim League cannot be a party directly or indirectly to any course of action which is calculated to prop up this bogus claim.

As regards the safeguard that no decision on any major communal issue could be taken if the majority of the main parties were opposed to it, of which assurance was given by the Viceroy, this is absolutely necessary to protect the Muslim interests as the number is now increased from 12 to 14, although there is parity between the Caste Hindu and the Muslims, the Muslims will be in a minority or a little over one-third in the whole executive.

Parity Abandoned

I gathered from the letter of the President of the Congress that the Viceroy represented to him that in his proposal there was no parity either between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and the Muslim League inasmuch as there were to be six Hindus belonging to the Congress as against five Muslims belonging to the Muslim League. One of the six Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Caste.

Whether this version is true or not, it is contrary to what the Viceroy said in his letter of June 20 to me which clarifies the points raised by me and in that he says: "The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties." However, I want to make it clear that if there is any departure made in the principle of parity or if the Congress is allowed to nominate a Muslim, in either case it will be impossible for the Muslim League to agree to it as that would strike at the very fundamentals of the League.

Compulsory Grouping

Notwithstanding the clear statement of May 16 and the further statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of May 25 clarifying and finally giving their authoritative interpretation, the Congress, both in the letter of the President and their resolution adhere to their wrong interpretation that any province or provinces is or are entitled to opt out initially and that they have a right at any stage to do so. This is clear indication that the Congress is not accepting the long-term proposals in a sincere and honest spirit of co-operation and peaceful settlement. If they persist in this and adopt measures to set at nought what is described by the statement of the Delegation of May 25 to constitute the essential feature of the scheme the whole plan will be wrecked at its very inception.

As regards the many other statements and allegations that are made in the letter of the Congress President they are merely intended for propaganda and some of them are not relevant to the immediate issues, but I have no means of dealing with them as I do not know what actually took place between the Congress President and the Viceroy or the Delegation as I have not got the correspondence that passed between them on various points to which references have been made in this letter.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that if any attempt is made to whittle down in any way the assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16 which has been accepted by the Muslim League, it will be regarded by Muslim India as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith. The British Government will in that case forfeit the confidence of Muslim India and of those whom they expect to work on their part, according to their pledged word.

1 9 4 6

200. Correspondence between the Quaid-e-Azam and the Viceroy.

Letter from the Quaid, dated 8.6.1946.

During the course of our discussions regarding the Interim Government at Simla and thereafter at Delhi on June 3 after the arrival and before the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee took place, you were good enough to give me the assurance that there will be only 12 portfolios, five on behalf of the League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian; and that, as regards the portfolios the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in the distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion.

With your previous permission I informed the Working Committee of this assurance and this was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them together with the statement of the Cabinet Mission. These two together form one whole and, as such, the Council of the All-India Muslim League has given its final decision on June 6.

I may further inform you that similarly I had to repeat the assurance to the Council before they finally gave their approval. As you know, the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held in camera and, there again, the House showed great opposition to the scheme in the beginning. During the course of discussions at a very early stage a large body of opposition was satisfied when I made the statement in answer to the very pressing question as to what our position will be with regard to the Interim Government. But for this assurance we could not have got the approval of the Council to the scheme. As requested by you I took as much care as possible to see that it did not become public.

I am writing this letter to you as I find that a very sinister agitation has been set on foot by the Congress Press against your formula stated above, which was the turning point in our having secured the decision of the Council. Any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead

to very serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League.

You know further that the Congress may adopt an offensive attitude by including a Muslim in their quota, which will be strongly resented by the Muslim League and which will be another very great hurdle before us.

Letter from the Viceroy dated, 15.6.1946.

"I am writing to inform you that after discussions with the Congress representatives I have failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of an Interim Government on the basis which I suggested to you. The Cabinet Delegation and myself have, therefore, decided to issue tomorrow a statement on the action we propose to take; and we will let you have a copy of this before publication".

Their final proposals were embodied in their statement of June 15 and now they have gone back on these proposals also by postponing the formation of the Interim Government indefinitely.

As regards my interview on the evening of June 25 at 5-30 p.m. when I was suddenly called by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, a fantastic interpretation was suggested on the statement of June 16 in the course of our talk and I was asked to give my opinion; and I emphatically differed from them. It was agreed that they would communicate in writing to me finally their views and the action they proposed to take. The Viceroy then sent his letter dated June 25, which reached me, as I have already stated, at midnight after the resolution of the Working Committee was passed and released to the Press.

If, as it is now sought to be made out, they had already come to their final decision as to the course they were going to adopt, why was that decision not communicated to me by the Viceroy earlier in the day as they had received the Congress

reply before mid-day on June 25 instead of calling me for discussion as to the correct interpretation or true construction of paragraph 8 in the statement of June 16, and then informing me that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy will communicate with me as to what they proposed to do?

Interim Government Postponed

I give below the text of the Viceroy's letter of June 25 referred to above, my reply to this letter dated June 26 and the Viceroy's reply to it dated June 27 conveying to me his intention to form a temporary caretaker Government till the reopening of negotiations "after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been completed".

Letter from Quaid-e-Azam, dated 19.6.1946.

I am in receipt of your letter of June 16 together with an advance copy of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself of the same date.

In my interview with you at Simla, prior to the announcement of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals, you had informed me that you were going to form an Interim Government consisting of 12 members on the basis of five Muslim League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. As regards the portfolios, you had indicated that the important ones would be equally divided between the Muslim League and the Congress, but details of actual allotment were to be left open for discussion.

The Simla Formula

After the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, dated May 16, you again on June 3 at New Delhi gave me to understand that the formula for the formation for the Interim Government disclosed to me at Simla would be followed. On both the occasions I sought your permission to communicate this information to my Working Committee, which

you kindly gave. Accordingly, I gave a full account of the talks I had with you, and the decision of the Working Committee in regard to the acceptance of the long-term proposals was largely influenced by the faith which they reposed in the scheme for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed by you to me on the two occasions.

Further, as I have already pointed out in my letter to you of June 8, I made the statement before the Council of the All-India Muslim League that that was the formula, which, I was assured by you, would be the basis on which you would proceed to form your Interim Government, and, therefore, this formed an integral part of the plan embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation. This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with the Council of the All-India Muslim League also in arriving at their decision, although even then there was a section that was opposed to the plan being accepted.

Warning Against Changes

When the Congress Press started a sinister agitation against Congress-League parity, with a view to informing you of the Muslim League stand I wrote to you on June 8 that "any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League."

Subsequently, in my interview with you on June 14 you informed me that you wanted to alter the basis and proceed on the formula of five Congress, five Muslim League, and three others, namely, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste, and one Indian Christian. I told you then that if any change was proposed to be made I would have to place the matter before the Working Committee and may have to call another meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. I also informed you that when the Congress finally agreed to your new formula, I would then place it before my Working Committee for them to take such action as they deemed necessary.

New Basis

After discussion with the Congress representative you wrote to me on June 15 informing me that you had failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government on the basis of 5 : 5 : 3 and that the Cabinet Delegation and yourself would issue a statement on June 16 on the action that you proposed to take and that you would let me have a copy of it before publication.

Accordingly, you sent me a copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued on June 16 with a covering letter of the same date, which I placed before my Working Committee and who, after careful consideration of the matter, have authorised me to state as follows:

(a) That the Working Committee are surprised that invitations have been issued to five Muslim Leaguers to join the Interim Government without calling for a list from the leader of the Muslim League.

(b) That your latest proposal, on the basis of which you now desire to form your Interim Government, shows that you have abandoned parity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the two major parties, and have substituted parity between the Muslim League and Caste Hindus, and have added a fourth representative of the minorities, namely, a Parsi. One of the minority representatives nominated by you, i.e., Mr. Jagjivan Ram, is a Congressman and has been selected, it appears, not to give real representation to the Scheduled Castes, but to give an additional seat to the Congress in the Interim Government.

(c) That the modifications which have been made in the original formula for the Interim Government have adversely affected the proportion of the Muslims in the Interim Government as a whole and as against the Congress as a single group.

(d) That in view of the serious changes which have, from time to time, been made to satisfy the Congress it is not possible for my Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the Interim Government so long as the Congress does not finally convey its decision on the proposals to you.

(e) That the question of distribution of portfolios should also be finally decided so that there may be no further hitch created by the Congress in this regard and the Working Committee may have a complete picture before them when they meet to consider the proposals.

Elucidation Sought

Further, I shall be grateful if you will please make the following points clear with reference to your letter and statement of June 16:

1. Whether the proposals contained in the statement for the setting up of an Interim Government are now final or whether they are still open to any further change or modification at the instance of any of the parties or persons concerned;

2. Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period;

3. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the four minorities, viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, is, or are, unable to accept the invitation to join the Interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies, thus created, be filled by the Viceroy, and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the Leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained;

4. (a) Whether during the interim period for which the coalition Government is being set up the constitution of mem-

bers of the Government, communitywise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained;

(b) Whether the present representation given to four minorities, viz., the Schedule Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis will be adhered to without any change or modification; and

5. In view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original of 12 and the change made in the original formula whether there will be a provision, in order to safeguard Muslim interests, that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

I trust that you will kindly favour me with your reply as early as possible.

Letter from the Quaid-e-Azam, dated 26. 6. 1946.

I received your letter dated June 25 at midnight last night after I had sent you the resolution of my Working Committee passed at its meeting yesterday with a covering letter of the same date agreeing to join the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated June 16, and the clarifications and assurances given by you after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in your letter dated June 20, addressed to me.

I regret that the Congress, while accepting the statement of May 16, should have rejected the proposals regarding the setting up of the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of June 16, which was the final decision of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself in this regard. May I draw your attention to paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16, which clearly lays down that the acceptance of the statement of May 16, and rejection of the final proposals embodied in the statement of June 16, cannot change the basis and principles laid down therein?

In paragraph 3 of your letter, when you say that the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16, the quotation qualifies them to be included in the Interim Government, but only on the basis of and the principles laid down in, your proposals of June 16. In tnese circumstances, as indicated in the statement of June 16, paragraph 7, that you aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about Jnue 26, I hope you will not now delay the matter but go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of your statement of June 16.

Letter from the Viceroy, dated 27. 6. 1946.

Thank you for your letter of yesterday. I am sorry that my letter did not reach you till after the meeting of your Working Committee had ended.

As we explained to you during our interview on Tuesday the Cabinet Mission and I consider that in the light of paragraph 8 of tne statement of June 16, I am clearly bound to make an attempt to form a Government representative of both the major parties since both have accepted the statement of May 16.

I think you will agree that it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations and as we informed you it is proposed to set up a temporary caretaker Government of officials. I intend reopening negotiations after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been completed. Meanwhile, the Cabinet Mission will return home to report.

As regards my request for the postponement of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, my reply to the two letters of the Viceroy of June 28 has not been included in the published letters. I therefore, think that I must, in fairness, release my letter of June 28, in reply to the Viceroy's letter of June 27, reproduced above, and also my reply dated June 28, to the two letters of the Viceroy of same date released to the Press yesterday.

Letter from the Viceroy, dated 28. 6. 1946.

The Cabinet Mission and I feel that there are certain points in your statement released yesterday which it would be wrong to leave unanswered.

You will remember that at an interview which the Cabinet Mission and I had with you on the evening of June 25, before the meeting of your Working Committee at which you accepted the proposals in the statement of June 16, we explained to you that as Congress had accepted the statement of May 16 while refusing to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the statement of June 16, this had produced a situation in which paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16 took effect. This paragraph stated that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in that statement the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

No Room for Doubt

We said that since the Congress and the Muslim League had now both accepted the statement of May 16, it was the intention to form a Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which had already taken place, and since we all had other work to do, we felt that it would be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government. Thus, whatever interpretation you may put on paragraph 8, your Working Committee can have been in no doubt as to the course we proposed to adopt.

I confirmed in writing the same evening what we had told you. Secondly, the assurance which you quote in your statement related specifically to the particular Interim Govern-

ment that would have been set up if both major parties had accepted the statement of June 16.

To prevent misunderstanding I propose to publish this letter together with your letter of June 19, the substance of which has already appeared in the Press, and my reply of June 20.

1946

201. Concluding part of a letter dated Delhi, 28th August, 1946 from Sir Arthur Moore in the "Statesman", a leading Indian Daily.

For any given man-made catastrophe all participating parties bear some responsibility. In party politics procedure considered correct and honourable is for the competent to blame the others and entirely exonerate himself.

I suggest that war, whether so-called civil or between nations, has become too catastrophic to permit us to go on using a code which promotes strife by making it obligatory on decent people to say: 'My party or my country, right and never wrong'. The better plan in any situation is for us to concentrate on our own mistakes and try to undo them; leaving others to do the same.

One can select a chain of any cause effect of any length and put what mathematicians call the limit where one chooses. One might start from our failure at the beginning of the war to treat India on an equal footing as an ally; but for the Calcutta Riots let us take the Cabinet Mission's negotiations as a starting-point.

You, sir, showed the true path when you pointed out that we, as represented by the Cabinet Mission, had grievously let down the Muslim League. Whoever invented the later interpretation of the statement of June 16, is entitled to lasting honour where hairs are split, but it bore only one

simple and straightforward meaning. The Muslim League alone had accepted the long-term and the short-term plans, and for the sake of peace had agreed to try out a federal form of Government and forgo the idea of an independent sovereign Pakistan. No glimmer of thanks or gratitude reached them. From the Hindu Press rose a roar of truimph that the League was beaten and day after day a steady stream of insult and cartoon poured forth: but that is not our concern. Our concern is that by going back on the statement of June 16 we let down those who trusted us; and that owing to the inherent corruption of the party system of parliamentary Government (which is the greatest obstacle to true democracy) the British Press had to represent the Cabinet Mission as a success and conceal the wrong done to the Muslims.

We have produced a situation in which civil war is an obvious possibility. Civil wars are more realistic than international wars because the bulk of the people on both sides generally understand what they are fighting for. On the possible edge of a civil war, it is futile to suppose that issues can be disposed of by section this and regulation that. I see no point in blaming anybody except ourselves.

I have a deep sense of terrible disasters impending, and while I think that Britain should admit errors and give the League the opportunity of attempting the role of. peacemaker for which it is temperamentally better fitted than an organisation which has practised direct action for a quarter of a century, I would also ask those who conduct Indian-owned newspapers, who were my colleagues and remain my friends, to write more moderately and, above all, to avoid the grievous and costly self-delusion of imputing to the Muslim League only bluff and bluster.

1946

202. Correspondence between Quaid-e-Azam and Lord Wavell regarding Muslim League nominees in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 3.

At the end of our last interview on October 2, 1946, it was agreed that I should finally put before you the various proposals that emerged out of our discussions, for your consideration and reply. Accordingly, I am enclosing herewith the various proposals that have been formulated by me.

Enclosure

(1) The total number of the members of the Executive Council to be 14.

(2) Six nominees of the Congress will include one Scheduled Castes' representative, but it must not be taken that the Muslim League has agreed to, or approves of, the selection of the Scheduled Castes' representative. The ultimate responsibility in that behalf being with the Governor-General and the Viceroy.

(3) That the Congress should not include in the remaining five members of their quota a Muslim of their choice.

(4) Safeguard : That there should be a convention on major communal issues, if the majority of Hindu or Muslim members of the Executive Council are opposed, then no decision should be taken.

(5) Alternative or rotational Vice-President should be appointed in fairness to both major communities as was adopted in the U. N. O. Conference.

(6) The Muslim League was not consulted in the selection of the three minority representatives, i.e., Sikh, Indian Christian and Parsi, and it should not be taken that the Muslim League approves of the selection that has been made. But in future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities

should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

(7) Portfolios: The most important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

(8) That the above arrangement should not be changed or modified unless both the major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress—agree.

(9) The question of the settlement of the long-term plan should stand over until a better and more conducive atmosphere is created and an agreement has been reached on the points stated above and after the Interim Government has been reformed and finally set up.

1946

Letter from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 4.

Thank you for your letter, dated yesterday. My replies to your nine points are as follows:

(1) This is agreed.

(2) I note what you say and accept the responsibility is mine.

(3) I am unable to agree to this. Each party must be equally free to nominate its own representatives.

(4) In a Coalition Government it is impossible to decide major matters of policy when one of the main parties to the coalition is strongly against a course of action proposed. My present colleagues and I are agreed that it would be fatal to allow major communal issues to be decided by vote in the Cabinet. The efficiency and prestige of the Interim Govern-

ment will depend on ensuring that differences are resolved in advance of Cabinet meetings by friendly discussion. A Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustments or does not work at all.

(5) The arrangement of alternative or rotational Vice-Presidents would present practical difficulty, and I do not consider it feasible. I will, however, arrange to nominate a Muslim League member to preside over the Cabinet in the event of the Governor-General and the Vice-President being absent.

I will also nominate a Muslim League member as Vice-Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of Cabinet which is a most important post. I am Chairman of this Committee and in the past have presided almost invariably. But I shall probably do so only on special occasions in future.

(6) I accept that both major parties would be consulted before filling a vacancy in any of these three seats.

(7) In the present conditions all the portfolios in the Cabinet are of great importance and it is a matter of opinion which are the most important. The minority representative cannot be excluded from a share of the major portfolios and it would also be suitable to continue Mr. Jagjivan Ram in the Labour portfolios. But subject to this there can be equal distribution of the most important portfolios between Congress and the Muslim League. Details would be a matter for negotiation.

(8) I agree.

(9) Since the basis for participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the statement of May 16, assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay resolution.

1946

Note on the Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet sent by the Viceroy.

This Committee was set up in October 1945. It absorbed the War Resources Committee and the Reconstruction Committee, and in the early stages was primarily concerned with questions affecting the transition from war to peace, and with the special short-term objects of preventing economic dislocation or distress.

The Committee is now primarily concerned with economic and industrial questions and deals with many important matters in these fields affecting more than one department of the Government of India. It deals also with matters relating to procedure of Government and with the machinery for general co-ordination and progressing of administrative measures. Though it would be open to a Member of the Cabinet to ask that a case should be taken up in the Cabinet proper, final decisions are normally taken in the Co-ordination Committee. In the past the Governor-General has almost always presided but he does not propose to do so in future except on special occasions when he is particularly interested.

1946

Letter from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 12.

I confirm what I told you this evening that the Muslim League are at liberty to nominate any one they wish for their own quota of seats in the Cabinet, though any person proposed must of course be accepted by me and by His Majesty before being appointed.

My intention is to discuss portfolios when all the names have been received, both from the Muslim League and the Congress.

1946

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 13.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have considered the whole matter fully and I am now authorised to state that they do not approve of the basis and scheme of setting up the Interim Government which has been decided by you, presumably with the authority of His Majesty's Government.

Therefore the Committee do not and cannot agree with your decision already taken, nor with the arrangements you have already made.

We consider and maintain that the imposition of this decision is contrary to the declaration of August 8, 1940, but since, according to your decision, we have a right to nominate five members of the Executive Council on behalf of the Muslim League, my Committee have, for various reasons, come to the conclusion that in the interests of Mussalman and other communities it will be fatal to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of Congress. Besides, you may be forced to have in your Interim Government Muslims who would not command the respect and confidence of Muslim India which would lead to very serious consequences; and lastly, for other very weighty grounds and reasons, which are obvious and need not be mentioned, we have decided to nominate five on behalf of the Muslim League in terms of your broadcast, dated August 24, 1946 and your two letters to me dated October 4 and October 12, respectively, embodying clarifications and assurances.

1946

Letter from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 13.

Thank you for your letter of today's date. I am glad to know that the Muslim League has decided to join the Interim Government. Will you please let me have the names of the five representatives, as they have to be submitted to His Majesty for approval and I should like to reform the Government as soon as possible.

You promised yesterday that you would let me have the names today.

1946

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 14.

I thank you for your letter of October 13.

I am now sending you names of five nominees on behalf of the Muslim League as arranged in our interview of yesterday :

(1) Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, M. L. A. (Central).

(2) Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, M. L. A. (Bombay), Leader, Muslim League Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League.

(3) Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar, Advocate (N.W.F.P.), Member, Working Committee All-India Muslim League, Committee of Action and Council.

(4) Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Punjab), Member, Council, All-India Muslim League, Council Provincial Muslim League and Member of the Punjab Muslim League Working Committee.

(5) Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Advocate (Bengal), at present Minister of the Bengal Government.

1946

203. Jinnah-Jawaharlal Nehru Correspondence, October 1946.

Quaid's letter, 7th October.

I am in receipt of your letter of 6th October, 1946 and I thank you for it. I appreciate and reciprocate your sentiments expressed in paragraph 1 of your letter.

With regard to the 2nd paragraph of your letter, point No. 1, the formula, it was accepted by Mr. Gandhi and me and the meeting between us was arranged on that basis in order to negotiate and settle a few other points remaining for the purpose of reconstituting the Interim Government. The formula runs as follows :

'The Congress does not challenge and accept that the Muslim League now is the authoritative representative of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. As such and in accordance with democratic principles they alone have today any unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India. But the Congress cannot agree that any restriction or limitation should be put upon the Congress to choose such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress as their repesentative'.

And now, in your letter under reply, not only you have made changes in it but you consider no formula is necessary! I regret I cannot agree to any change in the language or otherwise as it was the agreed basis of our discussion on other points; nor can I agree with you that no formula is necessary. It was signed by Mr. Gandhi and accepted by me.

As the whole basis of our talk on other matters was the formula agreed to by Mr. Gandhi, I do not think we can make any further progress unless it is accepted by you as a basis upon which we can proceed to discuss other points we have al-

ready discussed orally in the course of our conversation and now I am enclosing herewith a copy of the various points put by me before you in writing.

Even the four points, excluding point No. 1 regarding the formula which I have already dealt with above, you do not agree with any one of them. I am still willing, on the basis of the formula being accepted by you, to further discuss the various points with a view to settle them in the spirit of the sentiments expressed by you in paragraph 1. I am anxious that we should come to our own settlement without undue delay.

Enclosures (9 points)

1. The total number of the members of the Executive Council to be 14.

2. Six nominees of the Congress will include one Scheduled Castes representative, but it must not be taken that the Muslim League has agreed to, or approves of, the selection of the Scheduled Castes representative. The ultimate responsibility in that behalf being with the Governor-General and the Viceroy.

3. That the Congress should not include in the remain-5 members of their quota a Muslim of their choice.

4. Safeguard: That there should be a convention that on major communal issues, if the majority of Hindu or Muslim members of the Executive Council are opposed, then no decision should be taken.

5. Alternative or Rotational Vice-President should be appointed in fairness to both the major communities as it was adopted in the U.N.O. Conference.

6. The Muslim League was not consulted in the selection of the three minority representatives, i.e., Sikh, Indian Christian and Parsi and it should not be taken that the Muslim

League approves of the selection that has been made. But in future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

7. Portfolios : The most important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

8. That the above arrangement should not be changed or modified unless both the major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress—agree.

(9) The question of the settlement of the long-term plan should stand over until a better and more conducive atmosphere is created and an agreement has been reached on the points stated above and after the Interim Government has been reformed and finally set up.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's letter, 8th October.

I received your letter of the 7th October as I was going to Baroda House to meet you there last evening. I hurriedly glanced through it and was perturbed by it as it seemed to me to be at variance with the spirit of our talk the previous day. Subsequently we discussed various points and unfortunately could not convince each other.

On my return I read through your letter more carefully and consulted some of my colleagues. They were also disturbed not only by the letter but also by the list of points attached to it. This list had not been seen or considered by us previously. It had little relevance after our talk.

We have again given earnest consideration to the whole matter and we feel that we cannot state our position more clearly than I did in my letter to you of October 6, except for some variations which I shall indicate below. I shall, therefore,

refer you to that letter of mine which represents our general and specific viewpoint.

As I have told you, my colleagues and I did not accept the formula agreed to by Gandhi and you.

The meeting between you and me was not arranged, so far as I was aware, on the agreed basis of that formula. We knew of it and were prepared to agree to the substance of that formula as stated to you in my letter of October 6. That formula contained a further paragraph which you have not quoted in your letter :

'It is understood that all the Ministers of the Interim Government will work as a team for the good of the whole of India and will never invoke the intervention of the Governor-General in any case'.

While we still think that the formula is not happily worded, we are prepared, for the sake of the settlement we so earnestly desire, to accept the whole of it, including the paragraph left out in your letter.

In that case you will agree, I hope, that we should make our further position quite clear. It is clearly understood of course that the Congress has the right to appoint a Muslim out of its quota. Further, as I have stated in my previous letter, the Congress position in regard to the Nationalist Muslims and the smaller minorities should not be challenged by you.

In regard to points numbered 2, 3 and 4 in my letter of October 6, I have stated our position and have nothing further to add. We have gone as far as we could to meet you and we are unable to go further. I trust that you will appreciate the position.

Regarding No. 5 (the question of the Vice-President), you made a suggestion yesterday that the Vice-President and the Leader of the House (the Central Assembly) should not be

the same person. In present circumstances this means that the Leader of the House should be a Muslim League member of the Cabinet. We shall agree to this.

I am writing this letter to you after full and careful consideration of all the issues involved and after consulting such of my colleagues as are here. It is in no spirit of carrying on an argument that I have written but rather to indicate to you our earnest desire to come to an agreement. We have discussed these matters sufficiently and the time has come for us to decide finally.

1946

204. Quaid-e-Azam's Press Statement, dated 12th November, 1946, on the sufferings by Muslims in Bihar commonly known as the Bihar tragedy.

This is not the time for me to add anything to what is already so very clear to every honest thinking and intelligent man. There is no limit to the false propaganda that is being carried on to throw the blame on the Muslim League and the Mussalmans for what is happening in various parts of India. There is no foundation or justification for making wild and false allegations against the Muslim League, but this is not the moment for me to deal with them or pass judgment.

I know that the Mussalmans have suffered heavily and are suffering, but the tragedy of Bihar has eclipsed what are mere specks elsewhere. I condemn brutality in any shape or form, but the Bihar tragedy has no parallel or precedent in the record of cold-blooded butchery of the Muslim minority in various parts of the country committed by the majority Hindu community.

While I can quite understand that there is a grave provocation and deep resentment among the Mussalmans of India, I wish to caution them that retaliation or vengeance in Muslim majority provinces for what has happened in Bihar, and

is happening in other parts of India, will be a terrible catastrophe and blunder on our part, both morally and politically, and we shall be only playing in the hands of our enemies.

Claim for Pakistan

If you really want to achieve Pakistan, I may pray to God that Muslim honour should not be sullied by inhuman degrading and brutal happenings of the kind that have taken place in Bihar. We should not sink low in the scales of civilization, morality and humanity. While our hearts may bleed for the suffering, we cannot sanction cowardly inhuman massacres of the innocent in other places where Muslims happen to be in majority.

We must prove politically that we are brave, generous and trustworthy: that in Pakistan areas the minorities will enjoy the fullest security of life, property and honour just as the Mussalmans themselves—nay, even greater.

If the Mussalmans lose their balance and give vent to the spirit of vengeance and retaliation and prove false to the highest codes of morality and teachings of our great religion, Islam, you will not only lose your title to the claim of Pakistan, but also it will start a most vicious circle of bloodshed and cruelty, which will at once put off the day of our freedom and we shall only be helping to prolong the period of our slavery and bondage.

Muslim Generosity

I am glad so far the Muslim majority provinces have been peaceful and immune from this virus of holocaust and I hope and trust that they will not lose their balance and will not stoop to the spirit of malice, revengefulness or retaliation, however deeply they may feel from what they read and hear of the terrible happenings, especially in Bihar.

I, therefore, most fervently and earnestly appeal to the Mussalmans, wherever they are in majority, to do their best to protect and defend the non-Muslims and do everything that lies in their power to create a complete sense of security and confidence among the non-Muslim minorities.

The sufferings of the Muslims in the minority provinces and the terrific death roll and the butchery that has taken place will not go in vain. This sacrifice will, I am sure, establish our claim of Pakistan. Those who have died, been wounded and suffered the loss and destruction of property may take some consolation that they have suffered and made their contribution for our freedom and the achievement of Pakistan.

1946

205. Quaid-e-Azam's statement dated 22nd November, 1946, regarding participation by the Muslim League in the proposed Constituent Assembly.

I deeply regret that the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government have decided to summon the Constituent Assembly on 9th of December. In my opinion it is one more blunder of very grave and serious character. It is quite obvious that the Viceroy is blind to the present serious situation and the realities facing him and is entirely playing into the hands of the Congress and is appeasing them in complete disregard of the Muslim League and other organisations and elements in the national life of the country.

In these circumstances it is obvious that no representative of the Muslim League will participate in the Constituent Assembly and the Bombay Resolution of the Muslim League Council passed on July 29 stands. By forcing this meeting of the Constituent Assembly the matter has been further exasperated and a situation has been created which will lead to serious consequences.

I want to make it clear that no representative of the Muslim League should attend the Constituent Assembly summoned to meet on the 9th of December, 1946.

1946

206. Statement issued by His Majesty's Government on 6th December, 1946.

The conversations held by His Majesty's Government with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh came to an end this evening, as Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh are returning to India tomorrow morning.

The object of the conversation has been to obtain the participation and cooperation of all parties in the Constituent Assembly. It was not expected that any final settlement could be arrived at, since the Indian representatives must consult their colleagues before any final decision is reached.

The main difficulty that has arisen, has been over the interpretation of Paragraph 19 (v) and (vii) of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, relating to meetings in sections, which run as follow :-

> Paragraph 19 (v) :—These sections shall proceed to settle provincial constitutions for the provinces included in each section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces and if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of the groups in accordance with the provisions of sub clause (viii) below,........

> Paragraph 19 (viii) :—As soon as the new constitutional agreements have come into operation, it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be

taken by the Legislature of the province after the first general election under the new Constituent Assembly.

The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress have put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the statement, read as a whole, is that the provinces have the right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitution.

His Majesty's Government have had legal advice which confirms that the statement of May 16 means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intention. The part of the statement, as so interpreted, must therefore be considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliment. It should, therefore, be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.

It is, however, clear that other questions of interpretation of the statement of May 16 may arise and His Majesty's Government hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly, they will also agree, as has the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will accept such a decision, so that the procedure, both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the sections, may accord with the Cabinet Mission's plan.

On the matter immediately in dispute, His Majesty's Government urge the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet Mission in order that a way may be opened for the Muslim League to reconsider their attitude. If in spite of this

reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly desires that this fundamental point should be referred to for a decision of the Federal Court such a reference should be made at a very early date. It will then be reasonable that the meetings of the sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is known.

There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of the agreed procedure. Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government would not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling part of the country.

1947

207. Statement made by Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons, 20th February, 1947.

Indian Policy

1. It has long been the policy of successive British Governments to work towards the realisation of self-government in India. In pursuance of this policy, an increasing measure of responsibility has been devolved on Indians, and today the civil administration and the Indian Armed Forces rely to a very large extent on Indian civilians and officers. In the constitutional field, the Acts of 1919 and 1935 passed by the British Parliament each represented a substantial transfer of political power. In 1940 the Coalition Government recognised the principle that Indians should themselves frame a new constitution for a fully autonomous India, and in the offer of 1942 they invited them to set up a Constituent Assembly for this purpose as soon as the War was over.

2. His Majesty's Government believe this policy to have been right and in accordance with sound democratic principles. Since they came into office, they have done their utmost to carry it forward to its fulfilment. The declaration of the Prime Minister of 15 March last which met with general approval in Parliament and the country, made it clear that it was for the Indian people themselves to choose their future status and constitution and that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government the time had come for responsibility for the Government of India to pass into Indian hands.

3. The Cabinet Mission which was sent to India last year spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders in order to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might be smoothly and rapidly effected. It was only when it seemed clear, that without some initiative from the Cabinet Mission, agreement was unlikely to be reached that they put forward proposals themselves.

4. These proposals, made public in May last, envisaged that the future constitution of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly composed in the manner suggested therein, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States.

5. Since the return of the Mission, an interim Government has been set up at the Centre composed of the political leaders of the major communities, exercising wide powers within the existing constitution. In all the provinces Indian governments responsible to legislatures are in office.

6. It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government find that there are still differences among Indian parties which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should. It is of the essence of the plan that the Assembly should be fully representative.

7. His Majesty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a consitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission plan. But unfortunately there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities will emerge. The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948.

8. This great sub-continent now containing over four hundred million people has for the last century enjoyed peace and security as a part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Continued peace and security are more than ever necessary today if the full responsibilites of economic development are to be realised and a higher standard of life attained by the Indian people.

9. His Majesty's Government are anxious to hand over their responsibilities to a Government which, resting on the sure foundation of the support of the people, is capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. It is therefore essential that all parties should sink their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will come upon them next year.

10. After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which a constitution should be worked out. This was embodied in their statements of May last. His Majesty's Government there agreed to recommend to Parliament a constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein by a fully representative Constituent Assembly. But if it should appear that such a constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph 7, His Majesty's Government will have to consider

to whom the powers of the central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.

11. Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defence of India should be fully provided for. But inevitably as the process of transfer proceeds, it will become progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power.

12. In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any Government of British India. It is not intended to bring paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by agreement.

13. His Majesty's Government will negotiate agreements in regard to matters arising out of transfer of power with representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power.

14. His Majesty's Government believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new conditions. The commercial connection between India and the United Kingdom has been long and friendly and will continue to be to their mutual advantage.

15. His Majesty's Government cannot conclude this Statement without expressing on behalf of the people of this country their goodwill and good wishes towards the people of India as they go forward to this final stage in their achievement of self-government. It will be the wish of everyone in these islands that notwithstanding constitutional changes, the association of the British and Indian peoples should not be brought to an end; and they will wish to continue to do all that is in their power to further the well-being of India.

1947

208. A communique issued on 6th March 1947 by the Punjab Government, when the Province was being ruled by a British Governor under Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935, on the Hindu-Muslim riots in the Punjab.

"The trouble in Lahore on March 4, 1947, originated with the taking out by Hindus and Sikhs of a procession through the Anarkali Bazar at about 10 a.m. Some two to three hunded Hindus and Sikhs walked through the Bazar, shouting 'Pakistan Murdabad,' and forcibly hauling down Muslim League flags from Muslim shops.

"The Station House Officer, New Anarkali Police Station, appreciating the danger, broke up the procession. It then became apparent that most of the crowd intended to make for the District Courts, and he therefore deputed a force of two Assistant Sub-Inspectors and six foot constables to go ahead and bar their entrance.

"This small force had hardly taken up its position when the crowd arrived, and went straight for them. One of the Assistant Sub-Inspectors (a Sikh) fired three shots from his revolver, but he and the others were injured and quickly overpowered.

"In the meantime, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Lahore had received information separately that a procession

was moving in the direction of the District Courts, and he had telephoned the Inspector in charge of the reserves posted inside the Secretariat to proceed to the Courts at once, with two police reserves. This force apparently arrived just after the small force of two Assistant Sub-Inspectors and six foot constables had been overwhelmed, and, as the reserves alighted from their lorries, they were set upon by the crowd. Most of them were badly injured and an attempt by the Inspector to restore the situation by using his revolver failed.

"The crowd went on to the Police Office 150 yards away, where it joined students of the D.A.V. College, who were engaged in throwing stones at the office gate sentry. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Lahore, mustered all his office hands to deal with this crowd, and was finally obliged to direct the Office Guard to open fire. Seven rounds in all were fired, with results as yet unknown, but it is believed that two of the rioters were injured.

D. I. G. Injured

"At this stage, reinforcements arrived. They had heard an SOS put out by one of the wireless hands, and had set out at once with a reserve. Large crowds barred their passage, and it was necessary for them to fire two rounds to enable the party to get through. The D.I.G. received a brick injury, and the window-screen of his truck was smashed.

"Finding the situation at the Police Office at that time under control, the D.I.G. proceeded to the District Courts, where he was informed that a large crowd had assembled in the Gol Bagh, some 500 yards away, and had assaulted two constables. He immediately proceeded there with his police force, and dispersed the crowd. So far as can be ascertained, some 40 policemen received injuries in the course of the morning's events.

"The crowd at the Gol Bagh comprised mainly College students, most of whom hailed from the Sikh National College,

having walked from there in procession. Some 80 of these students were armed with kirpans, and the others with lathis. After the meeting had been broken up, a procession was formed and marched to the Assembly shouting anti-Pakistan slogans. From the Assembly, it went to the Muslim League Office, and presumably thereafter dispersed.

"During the course of the afternoon, Sikh and Hindu leaders, including Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Udham Singh Nagoke, and Dr. Gopi Ghand Bhargava, held counsel together in the D.A.V. College, and were reported to have decided that only Sikh and anti-Pakistan slogans should be shouted, Hindu slogans being entirely avoided. While this meeting of the leaders was in progress the D.A.V. College students assembled in the College Hostel and made preparations to take out a procession but were dissuaded from doing so by Udham Singh Nagoke and others.

Rioting Begins

"Rioting broke out in different parts of the town in the afternoon of March 4. The immediate cause appears to have been the shouting of anti-Pakistan slogans by small groups of Hindus and Sikhs in the Rang Mahal area, which is predominantly Muslim. The two areas immediately affected by the rioting were Sitia Mandir, which is between the Shahalmi and Lohari Gates, and Chowk Matti, which is near the Lohari Gate.

'A Muslim was stabbed while saying his prayers in a mosque outside the Shahalmi Gate, and another man (religion unknown) was stabbed in a fight in Machhi Hatta. The Police were quickly on the scene, and succeeded in localising the trouble. A curfew was imposed with effect from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m. on March 4, and the night passed off peacefully, except for an alarm in the Mozang area. There were two cases of arson during the night.

"On the morning of March 5, trouble broke out again in Sutar Mandi, and it is reported that there have been cases of

stabbing in different parts of the town. Chowk Matti, the Circular Road, and the Krishna Nagar area are said to be involved.

In Lahore Cantonment, there was a procession of between 500 and 600 Hindus and Sikhs in the area of the Sadar Bazar on March 4. Some of the processionists carried kirpans.

Outside Lahore

"Outside Lahore, the areas affected so far are stated to be Multan and Gujranwala. A message received at 2 p.m. on March 5 from Multan stated that rioting on a large scale had broken out there, and that casualties were heavy. In Gujranwala, about 500 Sikhs and Hindus attended a meeting on March 4 at which anti-Muslim speeches were made.

"About 500 Hindus and Sikhs of Komoke Mandi went to the railway station on March 4, broke down the fences and placed girders and barrels on the railway lines. Signal wires were damaged and the signal-cabin set on fire. The doors and windows of quarters occupied by Muslim employees were smashed. The police managed to disperse this crowd, and trains were safely passed.

"The conduct of Sikh and Hindu crowds in Lahore on March 4 was noticeably anti-police, presumably because of the early firing on a crowd without the full knowledge of the circumstances that necessitated the firing. Processions during the course of the day seemed to make a point of picking out solitary Police Officers and assaulting them.

"The Islamia College students were instructed to see that Muslims kept away from demonstrations, and the Muslim League Working Committee issued instructions to all District and City League Committees in the Province to remain calm and on the defensive. Muslim League National Guards are to be assembled, and not to assume the offensive. Muslim women have been forbidden to leave their houses."

1 9 4 7

209. Press statement of Hindu Leaders of Lahore, dated 7th March 1947, appreciating the generosity and goodwill of the Muslims towards the Sikhs and Hindus during the riots.

During the last few days, the Muslims of Lahore have been giving protection to the members of other communities in a number of localities. The following acknowledgement of the protection given to them by the Muslim majority, and the following appeal to the Hindus and Sikhs for similar restraint, has been issued by the inhabitants of Kucha Mela Ram, inside Bhati Gate, Lahore.

"We, the undersigned Hindu residents of Kucha Mela Ram, inside Bhati Gate, Lahore, do hereby condemn the state of affairs created by the resignation of the last Ministry, and the consequent bloodshed and arson since March 4, 1947, as a result of political differences among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. We thank our Muslim neighbours that they protected us and kept us safe in their areas even though we are in a minority. They also provided us with all facilities that we needed. We hope that in the future too they will give proof of the same generosity.

"We appeal to our Hindu and Sikh brethren that wherever they are in a majority, they should give the same protection to the Muslim minorities. This behaviour and treatment will not only be beneficial to the community but will also foster Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity, and thus lead to the progress of our Province."

(Signed) Manohar Lal, Banarsi Lal, Ram Rattan Anand, Vishwa Suri, Madan Gopal, Jhandu Ram, Sardari Lal Chaddha, Ram Lubhaya Suri, Mool Chand and others.

1947

210. A press report appearing in the Civil and Military Gazette of 29th April 1947, on the political deadlock in the Punjab.

An element of pessimism—in sharp contrast to that of hopeful expectation or even sober optimism of the forenoon—seemed permeating the Muslim League circles tonight following the meeting this afternoon between the Punjab Governor and the Punjab League President, who, according to several League sources, pressed the Governor to let him form a ministry.

Some days ago, as is reported in League quarters and in a section of its Press, the Punjab League chief wrote a 2-sheet letter to the Governor "seeking a mandate to form a ministry".

A League leader tonight told the Associated Press of America staff correspondent, "It can be that the Governor's reply has not been reassuring."

It can be mentioned here that after the resignation of the Coalition Ministry on March 3, the Governor extended an invitation to the Khan of Mamdot to form a ministry. On March 4 rioting broke out in the province. This was followed by Section 93 rule.

One source indicated that the Governor would convey the talks he had on Monday with the League leader to the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, whom he is meeting at Rawalpindi tomorrow.

Meanwhile, Congress and Sikh sources maintained, "the Governor cannot and should not agree to a purely League Ministry."

1947 ..

211. Facts and figures showing the position of Muslims in the Punjab Police Service.

Office of the Inspector-General of Police

	Non-Muslims	Muslims
Registrar	1	nil
Superintendents	2	1
Head Assistants	2	nil
Steno to I.G.	1	nil
Assistants	11	1
Senior Clerks	8	2
Junior Clerks	19	4

The P.A. to the I.G. of Police is a European, whereas a Muslim Indian Police Officer can hold this charge. The Registrar is Anglo-Indian. The Superintendent 'B' Branch which deals with promotions of officers from Inspector to Superintendent of Police and also clerks, is a non-Muslim for the last five years.

Office of the C.I.D.

	Non-Muslims	Muslims
Superintendents	2	nil
Head Assistants	4	2
Assistants	10	3
Senior Clerks	13	7
Junior Clerks	27	9

C.I.D. Staff

	Non-Muslims	Muslims
Superintendent of Police	7	1
Deputy Superintendents of Police	8	3
Inspectors	13	7
Sub-Inspectors	32	21
Assistant Sub-Inspectors	30	16

The Superintendents, Head Assistants, Assistants, Accountants who deal with promotions of officers from Head Constables to Inspectors and payment, etc., are non-Muslims.

Office of Provincial Additional Police, Fort

	Non-Muslims	Muslims
Superintendents of Police	2	nil
Deputy Superintendents of Police	3	1
Inspector-Accountant	1	nil
Head Clerk	1	nil

Offices of the D.I.G.s of Police, Ambala, Jullundur, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan

Amongst the Head Clerks in these offices, in whose hands the promotions of Head Constables to Inspectors lies, there are only 2 Muslims out of 5 and they too have been given officiating chances. There are six auditors with each D.I.G. and I.G. of Police and only two are Muslims and four non-Muslims.

In all the police offices in the Punjab the key-posts of Superintendents and Head Clerks and of Personal Assistants and Stenographers who deal with all confidential cases are occupied by non-Muslims.

1947

212. The following appeared in the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore, in its issue dated 6th May, 1947.

Big Business to Quit Punjab—Move to Shift to Delhi Afoot—Rs. 250 Crores of Capital Involved.

The Punjab National Bank has notified an extraordinary general meeting of its shareholders for May 19 to consider the Directors' recommendation "that for carrying on the business of the company more economically, more efficiently and more conveniently the registered office of the company be transferred to the province of Delhi.

A similar notice has been served on its shareholders by the Investors' Trust. Two other important banks and two premier insurance companies are contemplating to move out of the Punjab. The total capital under flight is estimated at Rs. 250 crores.

"After us the deluge", said a banking magnate in an interview. "We are leaving 'Pakistan' an economic desert", he added.

1 9 4 7

213. Announcement of His Majesty's Government known as the 3rd June Plan. The partition of India and transfer of power to two sovereign Dominions, Pakistan and Hindustan, were based on this statement.

Introduction

1. On February 20th, 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working-out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatves of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved upon His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India.

The Issues to be Decided

4. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain Provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or

(b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

Bengal and the Punjab

5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two Provinces are set out in the Appendix to this Announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim

majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these Provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed; and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either Province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.

Sind

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph 4 above.

North-West Frontier Province

11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this Province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

British Baluchistan

12 British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

Assam

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Mnslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

Representation in Constituent Assemblies

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946, similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of it being de-

cided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number or representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:

Province	General	Muslims	Sikhs	Total
Sylhet District	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12

15. In accordance with the mandates given to them, the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

Administrative Matters

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

(a) Between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications.

(b) Between different successor authorities and His Majesty's Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.

(c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.

The Tribes of the North-West Frontier

17. Agreements with tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

The States

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May 1946 remains unchanged.

Necessity for Speed

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above process should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

Immediate Transfer of Power

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June, 1948, for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this

year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decision taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

Further Announcement by Governor-General

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

APPENDIX

The Muslim majority districts of Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census.

1. The Punjab.
   Lahore Division—Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Sialkot.

   Rawalpindi Division—Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.

   Multan Division—Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. Bengal.

   Chittagong Division—Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera.

   Dacca Division.—Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.

   Presidency Division—Jessore, Murshidabad Nadia.

   Rajshahi Division.—Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna Rajshahi, Rangpur.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.

3rd June, 1947.

1947

214. Quaid-e-Azam's talk on 3rd June 1947 broadcast from All-India Radio, New Delhi, recording his views on the transfer of power in India, according to what is now known as the "3rd June Plan".

I am glad that I am afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address the people through the medium of this powerful instrument direct to the people on political matters. It augurs well and I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions which will reach you directly.

The statement of His Majesty's Government embodying the plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outlines of the plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great subcontinent inhabited by 400 million people. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.

Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore, we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India to maintain peace and order. We must examine the plan, in its letter and in its spirit, and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us and

enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner.

It is clear that the plan does not meet in some important respects our points of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us now to consider whether the plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point, I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been summoned to meet on Monday, June 9; and the final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our constitution, precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather on the whole, reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course the plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken.

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality, and it is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of transfer of power to the people of India, in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now the plan that has been broadcast already makes it clear in paragraph II that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph four they wish to adopt; and the referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the provincial government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, I request the Provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had

perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Mussalmans generally to organise our people to face this referendum with hope and courage, and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame, and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply smypathise with all those who have suffered and those who died or whose properties were subjected to destruction and I fervently hope that Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner, and it should be the anxiety of everyone to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order.

Pakistan Zindabad.

1947

215. On 30th June 1947, an official announcement from the Reforms Commission's Office said:

"Whereas in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 5 to 8 of the Statement by His Majesty's Government dated June 3, 1947, it has been decided that the Provinces of Bengal and the Punjab shall be partitioned:

"Now, therefore, in pursuance of Paragraph 21 of the Statement, His Excellency the Governor-General is pleased to make the following announcement with reference to Paragraph 12 and 13 thereof:

(1) There shall be two Boundary Commissions, one for Bengal and the other for the Punjab, consisting of the following:

For Bengal

Chairman: To be appointed later.

Members : Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukerjee, Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohammad Akram and Mr. S. A. Rahman.

For the Punjab

Chairman: To be appointed later.

Members : Mr. Justice Din Mohammad, Mr. Justice Mohammad Munir, Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Mr. Justice Teja Singh.

(Note : It is intended to appoint the same man as Chairman of both the Boundary Commissions).

(2) The two Boundary Commissions shall be summoned to meet as early as possible by the Governors of the respective provinces, and shall submit their reports at the earliest possible date.

(3) The terms of reference for the two commissions shall be as follows:

For Bengal

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.

In the event of the referendum in the district of Sylhet resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of the adjoining districts of Assam.

For the Punjab

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

1 9 4 7

216. Text of a letter by Mr. Jenkins, Chief of the C.I.D. in the Punjab, to Mr. Liddel in London, dated 8th July 1947, indicating that the Radcliffe Award would be against the just and rightful demands of the Muslims.

It is possible that the Boundary Commission will make the Muslims rather more disgruntled than they are now. Even if this should happen, I think that they will welcome the help a link-up with British security would afford them. I do not think I would find it difficult to raise the issue when the right time comes, or perhaps, as an alternative, suggest who should do so. I am half-inclined already to stay on in India for a month or two and see how things are going. If it will help you, I will decide to do so. Will you please let me know and also if you can arrange a quick means of communications between us? I believe that there is somebody in Lahore as the High Commissioner's representative. Could he be a channel for signals between us?

1 9 4 7

217. Quaid-e-Azam's inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11th August, 1947, in his capacity as its first President.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me—the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer—by electing

me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future Constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete Sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independend Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement as this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering—I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse—is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you

will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

Black marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does blackmarketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These blackmarketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

The next think that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil—the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brught to bear upon me. Wherever I will find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of everyone of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than

what has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution and I am sure future history will give its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct; may be it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of the people, and especially on the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community—because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalees, Madrasis, and so on—will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this. Therefore, we must learn

a lesson from this. You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist, what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our idea and you will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words, partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation. I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

"I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

" 'On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake'."

1947

218. Report by the Chairman of the two Boundary Commissions appointed under the Indian Independence Act to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab and Bengal and, after the referendum, of Sylhet District and the adjoining districts of Assam. This Report is commonly known as "The Radcliffe Award."

To

His Excellency the Governor-General.

1. I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Punjab Boundary Commission which, by virtue of Section 4 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, is represented by my decision as Chairman of that Commission.

2. The Punjab Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General, dated the 30th of June 1947, Reference No. D-50|7|47|R. The members of the Commission thereby appointed were :-

Mr. Justice Din Mohammad,
Mr. Justice Mohammad Munir,

Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, and
Mr. Justice Teja Singh.

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of this Commission.

3. The terms of reference of the Commission, as set out in the announcement, were as follows:

"The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors."

We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before the 15th of August.

4. After preliminary meetings, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by interested parties. Numerous memoranda and representations were received.

5. The public sittings of the Commission took place at Lahore, and extended from Monday the 21st of July 1947, to Thursday the 31st of July 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday the 27th of July. The main arguments were conducted by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly: but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined my colleague, and we entered

upon discussions in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different views, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab on the west and on the east respectively which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned to; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term "other factors", which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In those circumstances my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

7. This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

8. Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur, both of which States were interested in canals whose headworks were situate in the Punjab Province. I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weigh directly on the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan since the territorial division of the province does not affect rights of private property, and I think that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreements that either of those States has made with the Provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or

otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumes jurisdiction over the headworks concerned. I wish also to make it plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State of Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry.

9. The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is a difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but in my judgement the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej rivers on the one hand, and the river Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of the Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration, and of systems of road rail communication, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of those cities which each side vigorously maintained. After weighing to the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the Schedule which thus becomes the award of the Commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it: as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen.

10. I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej River and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej Rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claim of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Dipalpur Canal, which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from

the Ferozepore headworks and I find it difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on these headworks.

11. I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, which extends from Madhopur in the Pathankot Tahsil to the western border of the district of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore-Amritsar district boundary to mitigate some of the consequences of this severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro-electric Scheme which supplies power in the districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhupura, and Lyallpur. I think it only right to express the hope that where the drawing of a boundary line cannot avoid disrupting such unitary services as canal irrigation, railways, and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto been a valuable common service.

12. I am conscious too that the award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to their bearing on the placing of the boundary. If means are to be found to gratify to the full those sentiments and aspirations, I think that they must be found in political arrangements with which I am not concerned, and not in the decision of a boundary line drawn under the terms of reference of this Commission.

(Signed) Cyril Radcliffe.

New Delhi, 12th August 1947.

THE SCHEDULE

See Annexures A and B attached.

ANNEXURE A

1. The boundary between the East and West Punjab shall commence on the north at the point where the west

branch of the Ujh river enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir. The boundary shall follow the line of that river down the western boundary of the Pathankot Tahsil to the point where the Pathankot, Shakargarh and Gurdaspur Tahsils meet. The Tahsil boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh river shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

2. From the point of meeting of the three Tahsils above mentioned, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall follow the line of the Ujh river to its junction with the river Ravi and thereafter the line of the river Ravi along the boundary between the Tahsils of Gurdaspur and Shakargarh, the boundary between the Tahsils of Batala and Shakargarh, the boundary between the Tahsils of Batala and Narowal, the boundary between the Tahsils of Ajnala and Narowal, and the boundary between the Tahsils of Ajnala and Shadara, to the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the district of Lahore. The Tahsil boundaries referred to, and not the actual course of the river Ujh or the river, Ravi, shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

3. From the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the district of Lahore, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall turn southwards following the boundary between the Tahsils of Ajnala and Lahore and then the Tahsils of Tarn Taran and Lahore, to the point where the Tahsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn south-westward along the boundary between the Tahsils of Lahore and Kasur to the point where that boundary meets the north-east corner of village. Then Jharolian. It will then run along the eastern boundary of that village to its junction with village Chathianwala turn along the northern boundary of that village, and then run down its eastern boundary to its junction with village Waigal. It will then run along the eastern boundary of village Waigal to its junction with village Kalia, and then along the southern boundary of village Waigal to its junction with village Panhuwan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of vil-

lage Panhuwan to its junction with village Gaddoke. The line will then run down the eastern border of village Gaddoke to its junction with village Nurwala. It will then turn along the southern boundary of village Gaddoke to its junction with village Katluni Kalan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of village Katluni Kalan to its junction with villages Kals and Mastgarh. It will then run along the southern boundary of village Katluni Kalan to the north-west corner of village Kals. It will then run along the western boundary of village Kals to its junction with village Khem Karan. The line will then run along the western and southern boundaries of village Khem Karan to its junction with village Maewala. It will then run down the western and southern boundaries of village Maewala, proceeding eastward along the boundaries between village Mahaidepur on the north and villages Sheikhupura Kuhna, Kamalpuran, Fatehwala and Mahewala. The line will then turn northward along the western boundary of village Sahjra to its junction with villages Mahaidepur and Machhike. It will then turn north-eastward along the boundaries between villages Machhike and Sahjra and then proceed along the boundary between villages Rattoke and Sahjra to the junction between villages Rattoke, Sahjra and Mabbuke. The line will then run north-east between the villages Rattoke and Mabbuke to the junction of villages Rattoke, Mabbuke, and Gajjal. From that point the line will run along the boundary between villages Mabbuke and Gajjal, and then turn south along the eastern boundary of village Mabbuke to its junction with village Nagar Aimanpur. It will then turn along the north-eastern boundary of village Nagar Aimanpur, and run along its eastern boundary to its junction with village Masteke. From there it will run along the eastern boundary of village Masteke to where it meets the boundary between the Tahsils of Kasur and Ferozepore.

For the purpose of identifying the village referred to in this paragraph, I attach a map of the Kasur Tahsil authorised by the then Settlement Officer, Lahore District, which was supplied to the Commission by the Provincial Government.

4. The line will then run in a south-westerly direction down the Sutlej River on the boundary between the Districts of Lahore and Ferozepore to the point where the districts of Ferozepore, Lahore and Montgomery meet. It will continue along the boundary between the districts of Ferozepore and Montgomery to the point where this boundary meets the border of Bahawalpur State. The district boundaries, and not the actual course of the Sutlej River, shall in each case constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

5. It is my intention that this boundary line should ensure that the canal headworks at Sulemanke will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the West Punjab. If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery District does not ensure this, I award to the West Punjab so much of the territory concerned as covers the headworks, and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly.

6. So much of the Punjab Province as lies to the west of the line demarcated in the preceding paragraph shall be the territory of the West Punjab. So much of the territory of the Punjab Province as lies to the east of that line shall be the territory of the East Punjab.

Report by the Chairman of the Bengal

Boundary Commission

To

His Excellency the Governor-General.

1. I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Bengal Boundary Commission, which, by virtue of Section 3 of the Indian Independence Act 1947, is represented by my decision as Chairman of the Commission. This award relates to the division of the Province of Bengal, and the Commission's award in respect of the District of Sylhet and areas adjoining thereto will be recorded in a separate report.

2. The Bengal Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General dated the 30th of June, 1947, Reference No. D. 50|7|47 R. The members of the Commission thereby appointed were—

Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjee,
Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas,
Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohammad Akram, and
Mr. Justice S. A. Rahman.

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of the Commission.

3. The terms of reference of the Commission, as set out in the announcement, were as follows :-

"The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take account of other factors."

We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before the 15th of August.

4. After preliminary meetings the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by interested parties. A very large number of memoranda and representations was received.

5. The public sittings of the Commission took place at Calcutta, and extended from Wednesday the 16th of July 1947 to Thursday the 24 of July 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, the 20th of July. Arguments were presented to the Commission by numerous parties on both sides, but the main cases were presented by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha and the New Bengal Association on the one hand, and on behalf of the Muslim League on the other. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Cahirman of the Punjab Boundary Commission,

whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Bengal Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings, the remainder of the time of the Commission was devoted to clarification and discussion of the issues involved. Our discussions took place at Calcutta.

7. The question of drawing a satisfactory boundary line under our terms of reference between East and West Bengal was one to which the parties concerned propounded the most diverse solutions. The province offers few, if any, satisfactory natural boundaries, and its development has been on lines that do not well accord with a division by contiguous majority areas of Muslim and non-Muslim majorities.

8. In my view, the demarcation of a boundary line between East and West Bengal depended on the answers to be given to certain basic questions which may be stated as follows:

(1) To which State was the City of Calcutta to be assigned, or was it possible to adopt any method of dividing the City between the two States.

(2) If the City of Calcutta must be assigned as a whole to one or other of the States, what were its indispensable claims to the control of territory, such as all or part of the Nadia River system or the Kulti river, upon which the life of Colcutta as a city and port depended?

(3) Could the attractions of the Ganges-Padma-Madhumati river line displace the strong claims of the heavy concentration of Muslim majorities in the districts of Jessore and Nadia without doing too great a violence to the principle of our terms of reference?

(4) Could the district of Khulna usefully be held by a State different from that which held the district of Jessore?

(5) Was it right to assign to Eastern Bengal the considerable block of non-Muslim majorities in the districts of Malda and Dinajpur.

(6) Which State's claim ought to prevail in respcct of the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, in which the Muslim population amounted to 2.42 per cent. of the whole in the case of Darjeeling, and to 23.08 per cent. of the whole in the case of Jalpaiguri, but which constituted an area not in any natural sense contiguous to another non-Muslim area of Bengal?

(7) To which State should the Chittagong Hill Tracts be assigned, an area in which the Muslim population was only 3 per cent of the whole, but which it was difficult to assign to a State different from that which controlled the district of Chittagong itself?

(8) After much discussion, my colleagues found that they were unable to arrive at an agreed view on any of these major issues. There were of course considerable areas of the Province in the south-west and north-east and east, which provokes no controversy on their side; but, in the absence of any reconciliation on all main questions affecting the drawing of the boundary itself, my colleagues assented to the view at the close of our discussions that I had no alternative but to proceed to give my own decision.

(9) This I now proceed to do: but I should like at the same time to express my gratitude to my colleagues for their indispensable assistance in clarifying and discussing the difficult question involved. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described

in Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

(10) I have done what I can in drawing the line to eliminate any avoidable cutting of railway communications and of river system, which are of importance to the life of the province: but it is quite impossible to draw a boundary under our terms of reference without causing some interruption of this sort, and I can only express the hope that arrangements can be made and maintained between the two States that will minimize the consequences of this interruption as far as possible.

New Delhi (Signed) Cyril Radcliffe
12th August, 1947.

THE SCHEDULE

See Annexures A and B

ANNEXURE A

1. A line shall be drawn along the boundary between the Thana of Phansidewa in the District of Darjeeling and the Thana Tetulia in the District of Jalpaiguri from the point where that boundary meets the Province of Bihar and then along the boundary between the Thanas of Tetulia and Rajganj; the Thanas of Pachagar and Rajganj, and the Thanas of Pachagar and Jalpaiguri, and shall then continue along the northern corner of the Thana Debiganj to the boundary of the State of Cooch-Behar. The District of Darjeeling and so much of the District of Jalpaiguri as lies north of this line shall belong to West Bengal, but the Thana of Patgram and any other portion of Jalpaiguri District which lies to the east or south shall belong to East Bengal.

2. A line shall then be drawn from the point where the boundary between the Thanas of Haripur and Raiganj in the District of Dinajpur meets the border of the Province of Bihar to the point where the boundary between the Districts of 24

Parganas and Khulna meets the Bay of Bengal. This line shall follow the course indicated in the following paragraphs. So much of the province of Bengal as lies to the west of it shall belong to West Bengal. Subject to what has been provided in paragraph 1 above with regard to the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, the remainder of the Province of Bengal shall belong to East Bengal.

3. The line shall run along the boundary of the following Thanas:—Haripur and Raiganj; Haripur and Hemtabad; Ranisankail and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Kaliganj; Bochaganj and Kaliganj; Biral and Kaliganj; Biral and Kushmendi; Biral and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Kumarganj; Chirirbandar and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Balurghat. It shall terminate at the point where the boundary between Phulbari and Balurghat meets the north-south line of the Bengal-Assam Railway in the eastern corner of the Thana of Balurghat. The line shall turn down the western edge of the railway lands belonging to that railway and follow that edge until it meets the boundary between the Thanas of Balurghat and Panchnibi.

4. From that point the line shall run along the boundary between the following Thanas:

5. The lines shall then turn southeast down the River Ganges along the boundary between the District of Malda and Murshidabad; Rajshahi and Murshidabad; Rajshahi and Nadia; to the point in the north-western corner of the District of Nadia where the channel of the River Mathabanga takes off from the River Ganges. The district boundaries, and not the actual course of the River Ganges shall constitute the boundary between East and West Bengal.

6. From the point on the River Ganges where the channel of the River Mathabanga takes off, the line shall run along that channel to the northernmost point where it meets the boundary between the Thanas of Daulatpur and Khairpur.

The middle line of the main channel shall constitute the actual boundary.

7. From this point the boundary between East and West Bengal shall run along the boundaries between the Thanas of Daulatpur and Khairpur; Gangani and Karimpur; Meherpur and Karimpur; Meherpur and Tehatta; Meherpur and Chapra; Damurhuda and Chapra; Damurhuda and Krishnaganj; Chudanga and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Hanskhali; Maheshpur and Hanskhali; Maheshpur and Ranaght: Maheshpur and Bongaon; Jhikargacha and Bongaon; Sarsa and Bongaon; Sarsa and Gaighata; and Kalaroa; to the point where the boundary between those Thanas meets the boundary between the districts of Khulna and 24 Parganas.

8. The line shall then run southwards along the boundary between the Districts of Khulna and 24 Parganas to the point where that boundary meets the Bay of Bengal.

Report relating to Sylhet District and the adjoining Districts of Assam

To

His Excellency the Governor-General.

1. I have the honour to present the report of the Bengal Boundary Commission relating to Sylhet District and the adjoining districts of Assam. By virtue of Section 3 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the decisions contained in this report become the decision and award of the Commission.

2. The Bengal Boundary Commission was constituted as stated in my report dated the 12th of August 1947 with regard to the division of the Province of Bengal into East and West Bengal. Our terms of reference were as follows:-

"The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors. In the event of the referendum in the District of Sylhet resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and the contiguous Muslim majority areas of the adjoining districts of Assam."

3. After the conclusion of the proceedings relating to Bengal, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by parties interested in the Sylhet question. A number of such memoranda and representations was received.

4. The Commission held open sittings at Calcutta on the 4th, 5th and 6th days of August 1947, for the purpose of hearing arguments. The main arguments were conducted on the one side by counsel on behalf of the Government of East Bengal and the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues; and on the other side, by counsel on behalf of the Government of the Province of Assam and the Assam Provincial Congress Committee and the Assam Provincial Hindu Mahasabha. I was not present in person at the open sittings as I was at the time engaged in the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission which were taking place simultaneously, but I was supplied with the daily record of the Sylhet proceedings and with all material submitted for the Commission's consideration. At the close of the open sittings, the members of the Commission entered into discussions with me on the issues involved and the decisions to be come to. These discussions took place at New Delhi.

5. There was an initial difference of opinion as to the scope of the reference entrusted to the Commission. Two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission had been given authority to detach from Assam and to attach to East Bengal any Muslim majority areas of any part of Assam that be described as contiguous to East Bengal, since they construed the

words "The adjoining districts of Assam" as meaning any districts of Assam that adjoined East Bengal. The other two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission's power of detaching areas from Assam and transferring them to East Bengal was limited to the District of Sylhet and contiguous Muslim majority areas (if any) of other districts of Assam that adjoined Sylhet. The difference of opinion was referred to me for my casting vote, and I took the view that the more limited construction of our terms of reference was the correct one and that the "adjoining districts of Assam" did not extend to other districts of Assam than those that adjoined Sylhet. The Commission accordingly proceeded with its work on this basis.

6. It was argued before the Commission on behalf of the Government of East Bengal that on the true construction of our terms of reference and Section 3 of the Indian Indepenence Act 1947, the whole of the District of Sylhet at least must be transferred to East Bengal and the Commission had no option but to act upon this assumption. All my colleagues agreed in rejecting this argument, and I concur in their view.

7. We found some difficulty in making up our minds whether, under our terms of reference, we were to approach the Sylhet question in the same way as the question of partitioning Bengal, since there were some differences in the language employed. But all my colleagues came to the conclusion that we were intended to divide the Sylhet and adjoining districts of Assam between East Bengal and the Province of Assam on the basis of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, but taking into account other factors I am glad to adopt this view.

8. The members of the Commission were, however, unable to arrive at an agreed view as to how the boundary lines should be drawn, and after discussion of their differences, they invited me to give my decision. This I now proceed to do.

9. In my view, the question is limited to the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, since of the other districts of Assam that

can be said to adjoin Sylhet neither the Garo Hills nor the Khasi and Jaintia Hills nor the Lushai Hills have anything approaching a Muslim majority of population in respect of which a claim could be made.

10. Out of 35 thanas in Sylhet, 8 have non-Muslim majorities; but of these eight two—Sulla and Ajmiriganj (which is in any event divided almost evenly between Muslims and non-Muslims), are entirely surrounded by preponderatingly Muslim areas, and must therefore go with them to East Bengal. The other six thanas comprising a population of over 530,000 people stretch in a continuous line along part of the southern border of Sylhet District. They are divided between two sub-divisions, of which one, South Sylhet, comprising a population of over 515,000 people, has in fact a non-Muslim majority of some 40,000; while the other, Karimganj, with a population of over 568,000 people, has a Muslim majority that is a little larger.

11. With regard to the District of Cachar, one thana, Hailakandi, has a Muslim majority and is contiguous to the Muslim thanas of Badarpur and Karimganj in the District of Sylhet. This thana forms, with the thana of Katlichara immediately to its south, the sub division of Hailakandi, and in the Sub-division as a whole Muslims enjoy a very small majority being 51 per cent of the total population. I think that the dependence of Kathichara on Hailakandi for normal communications makes it important that the area should be under one jurisdiction, and that the Muslims would have at any rate a strong presumptive claim for the transfer of the Sub-division of Hailakandi, comprising a population of 166,536, from the Province of Assam to the Province of East Bengal.

12. But a study of the map shows, in my judgement, that a division on these lines would present problems of administration that might gravely effect the future welfare and happiness of the whole District. Not only would the six non-Muslim thanas of Sylhet be completely divorced from the rest of Assam if the Muslim claim to Hailakandi were recognised,

but they form a strip running east and west whereas the natural division of the land is north and south and they effect an awkward severance of the railway line through Sylhet, so that, for instance, the junction for the town of Sylhet itself, the capital of the district, would lie in Assam, not in East Bengal.

13. In those circumstances I think that some exchange of territories must be effected if a workable division is to result. Some of the non-Muslim thanas must go to East Bengal and some Muslim territory and Hailakandi must be retained by Assam. Accordingly I decide and award as follows:

A line shall be drawn from the point where the boundary between the Thanas of Patharkandi and Kulaura meets the frontier of Tripura State and shall run north along the boundary between those Thanas, then along the boundary between the Thanas of Patharkandi and Barlekha, then along the boundary between the Thanas of Karimganj and Barlekha, and then along the boundary between the Thanas of Karimganj and Beani Bazar to the point where that boundary meets the River Kusiyara. The line shall then turn to the east taking the River Kusiyara as the boundary and run to the point where that River meets the boundary between the District of Sylhet and Cachar. The centre line of the main stream or channel shall constitute the boundary. So much of the District of Sylhet as lies to the west and north of this line shall be detached from the Province of Assam and transferred to the Province of East Bengal. No other part of the Province of Assam shall be transferred.

14. For purpose of illustration a map marked A is attached on which the line is delineated. In the event of any divergence between the line as delineated on the map and as described in paragraph 13, the written description is to prevail.

New Delhi,

13th August 1947.

(Signed) Cyril Radcliffe.

1947

219. The Indian Independence Act.

An Act to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which apply outside those Dominions, and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions, (18th July 1947).

The New Dominions

1. (1) As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and fortyseven, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

(2) The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the new Dominions' and the said fifteenth day of August is hereafter in this Act referérd to as 'the appointed day.'

Territories of the New Dominions

2. (1) Subject to the provisions of subsections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of his Majesty which, immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories which, under subsection (2) of this section, are to be territories of Pakistan.

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of Pakistan shall be—

(a) the territories which, on the appointed day, are included in the Provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following sections:

(b) the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the Province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan; and

(c) if, whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has been held in that behalf under his authority in the North-West Frontier Province are in favour of representatives of that Province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in that Province.

(3) Nothing in this section shall prevent any area being at any time included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so, however, that—

(a) no area not forming part of the territories specified in subsection (1) or, as the case may be, subsection (2), of this section shall be included in either Dominion without the consent of that Dominion; and

(b) no area which forms part of the territories specified in the said subsection (1) or, as the case may be, the said subsection (2), or which has after the appointed day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.

(4) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the New Dominions.

Bengal and Assam

3. (1) As from the appointed day—

(a) the Province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and

(b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.

(2) If, whether before or after the passing of this Act, but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the District of Sylhet are in favour of that District forming part of the new Province of East Bengal, then, as from that day, a part of the Province of Assam shall, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, form part of the new Province of East Bengal.

(3) The boundaries of the new Provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the boundaries after the appointed day of the province of Assam shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—

(a) the Bengal Districts specified in the First Schedule to this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the Assem District of Sylhet, shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Bengal;

(b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of West Bengal; and

(c) in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the District of Sylhet shall be excluded from the Province of Assam.

(4) In this section, the expression 'award' means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decisions of the chairman

of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission's proceedings.

The Punjab

4. (1) As from the appointed day—

(a) the Province of the Punjab as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and

(b) there shall be constituted two new Provinces, to be known respectively as West Punjab and East Punjab.

(2) The boundaries of the said new Provinces shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—

(a) the Districts specified in the Second Schedule to this Act shall be treated as the territories to be comprised in the new Province of West Punjab; and

(b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of the Punjab shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Punjab.

(3) In this section, the expression 'award,' means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decisions of the chairman of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission's proceedings.

The Governor-General of the New Dominions

5. For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty and

shall represent His Majesty for the purpose of the government of the Dominion:

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

Legislation for the New Dominions

6. (1) The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.

(2) No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

(3) The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the disallowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon shall not apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.

(4) No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(5) No Order in Council made on or after the appointed day under any Act passed before the appointed day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the appointed day under any such Act by any United Kingdom Minister or other authority, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion.

(6) The power referred to in subsection (1) of this section extends to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion.

Consequences of the setting up of the new Dominions

7. (1) As from the appointed day—

(a) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India;

(b) the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, right, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise:

Provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph (c) of this subsection, effect shall, as nearly as may be, continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or

other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreements.

(2) The assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is hereby given to the omission from the Royal Style and Titles of the words 'Indiae Imperator' and the words 'Emperor of India' and to the issue by His Majesty for that purpose of His Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm.

Temporary Provision as to Government of each of the New Dominions

8. (1) In the case of each of the new Dominions, the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion, and references in this Act to the Legislature of the Dominion shall be construed accordingly.

(2) Except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion under subsection (1) of this section, each of the new Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935; and the provisions of that Act, and of the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, shall, so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of this Act, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding section, have effect—Provided that—

(a) the said provisions shall apply separately in relation to each of the new Dominions and nothing in this subsection shall be construed as continuing on or after the appointed day any Central Government or Legislature common to both the new Dominions;

(b) nothing in his subsection shall be construed as continuing in force on or after the appointed day any form of control by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over the affairs of the new Dominions or of any Province or other part thereof;

(c) so much of the said provisions as requires the Governor-General or any Governor to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment as respects any matter shall cease to have effect as from the appointed day;

(d) as from the appointed day, no Provincial Bill shall be reserved under the Government of India Act, 1935, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and no Provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder; and

(e) the powers of the Federal Legislature or Indian Legislature under that Act, as in force in relation to each Dominion, shall, in the first instance, be exercisable by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in addition to the powers exercisable by that Assembly under subsection (1) of this section.

(3) Any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, which, as applied to either of the new Dominions by subsection (2) of this section and the orders therein referred to, operates to limit the power of the legislature of that Dominion shall, unless and until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in accordance with the provisions of subsection (1) of this section have the like effect as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion limiting for the future the powers of that Legislature.

Orders for bringing this Act into Force

9. (1) The Governor-General shall by order make such provision as appears to him to be necessary or expedient—

(a) for bringing the provisions of this Act into effective operation;

(b) for dividing between the new Dominions, and between the new Provinces to be constituted. under this Act, the powers, rights, property, duties and liabilities of the Governor-General in Council or, as the case may be, of the relevant Provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist;

(c) for making omissions from, additions to, and adaptations and modifications of, the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, in their application to the separate new Dominions;

(d) for removing difficulties arising in connection with the transition to the provisions of this Act;

(e) for authorising the carrying on of the business of the Governor-General in Council between the passing of this Act and the appointed day otherwise than in accordance with the provisions in that behalf of the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935;

(f) for enabling agreements to be entered into, and other acts done, on behalf of either of the new Dominions before the appointed day;

(g) for authorising the continued carrying on for the time being on behalf of the new Dominions, or on behalf of any two or more of the said new Provinces, of services and activities previously carried on on behalf of British India as a whole or on behalf of the former Provinces which those new Provinces represent;

(h) for regulating the monetary system and any matters pertaining to the Reserve Bank of India; and

(i) so far as it appears necessary or expedient in connection with any of the matters aforesaid, for varying the constitution, powers or jurisdiction of any legislature, court or other authority in the new Dominions and creating new legislatures, courts or other authorities therein.

(2) The powers conferred by this section on the Governor-General shall, in relation to their respective Provinces, be exercisable also by the Governors of the Provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist; and those powers shall, for the purposes of the Government of India Act, 1935, be deemed to be matters as respects which the Governors are, under that Act, to exercise their individual judgment.

(3) This section shall be deemed to have had effect as from the third day of June, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, and any order of the Governor-General or any Governor made on or after that date as to any matter shall have effect accordingly, and any order made under this section may be made so as to be retrospective to any date not earlier than the said third day of June:

Provided that no person shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence by reason of so much of any such order as makes any provision thereof retrospective to any date before the making thereof.

(4) Any orders made under this section, whether before or after the appointed day, shall have effect—

(a) up to the appointed day, in British India;

(b) on and after the appointed day, in the new Dominion or Dominions concerned; and

(c) outside British India, or, as the case may be, outside the new Dominion or Dominions concerned, to such extent, whether before, on or after the appointed day, as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned would have on or after the appointed day, but shall in the case of each of the Dominions, be subject to the same powers of repeal and amendment as laws of the Legislature of that Dominion.

(5) No order shall be made under this section, by the Governor of any Province, after the appointed day, or, by the Governor-General, after the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and forty-eight, or such earlier date as may be determined, in the case of either Dominion, by any law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(6) If it appears that a part of the Province of Assam is, on the appointed day, to become part of the new Province of East Bengal, the preceding provisions of this section shall have effect as if, under this Act, the Province of Assam was to cease to exist on the appointed day and be reconstituted on that day as a new Province.

Secretary of State's Services, Etc.

(10) (1) The provisions of this Act keeping in force provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, shall not continue in force the provisions of that Act relating to appointments to the civil services of, and civil posts under, the Crown in India by the Secretary of State, or the provisions of that Act relating to the reservation of posts.

(2) Every person who—

(a) having been appointed by the Secretary of State, or Secretary of State in Council, to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the appointed day to serve under the Government of

either of the new Dominions or of any Province or part thereof; or

(b) having been appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a judge of the Federal Court or of any court which is a High Court within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, continues on and after the appointed day to serve as a judge in either of the new Dominions, shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the Dominions and Provinces or parts which he is from time to time serving or, as the case may be, which are served by the courts in which he is from time to time a judge, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or, as the case may be, as respects the tenure of his office, or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances may permit, as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as enabling the rights and liabilities of any person with respect to the family pension funds vested in Commissioners under section two hundred and seventy-three of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be governed otherwise than by Orders in Council made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by His Majesty in Council and rules made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by a Secretary of State or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions Act, 1946.

Indian Armed Forces

11. (1) The orders to be made by the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall make provision for the division of the Indian armed forces of His Majesty bet-

ween the new Dominions, and for the command and governance of those forces until the division is completed.

(2) As from the appointed day, while any members of His Majesty's forces, other than His Majesty's Indian forces, is attached to or serving with any of his Majesty's Indian forces—

(a) he shall, subject to any provision to the contrary made by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned or by any order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act, have, in relation to the Indian forces in question, the powers of command and punishment appropriate to his rank and functions; but

(b) nothing in any enactment in force at the date of the passing of this Act shall render him subject in any way to the law governing the Indian forces in question.

British Forces in India

12. (1) Nothing in this Act affects the judisdiction or authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, or of the Admiralty, the Army Council, or the Air Council or of any other United Kingdom authority, in relation to any of His Majesty's forces which may, on or after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions or elsewhere in the territories which, before the appointed day, were included in India, not being Indian forces.

(2) In its application in relation to His Majesty's military forces, other than Indian forces, the Army Act shall have effect on or after the appointed day—

(a) as if His Majesty's Indian forces were not included in the expressions 'the forces', 'His Majesty's forces' and 'the regular forces'; and

(b) subject to the further modifications specified in parts I and II of the Third Schedule to this Act.

(3) Subject to the provisions of subsection (2) of this section, and to any provisions of any law of the Legislature of the Dominion concerned, all civil authorities in the new Dominions, and subject as aforesaid and subject also to the provisions of the last preceding section, all service authorities in the new Dominions, shall, in those Dominions and in the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day, perform in relation to His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces, the same functions as were, before the appointed day, performed by them, or by the authorities corresponding to them whether by virtue of the Army Act or otherwise, and the matters for which provision is to be made by orders of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall include the facilitating of the withdrawal from the new Dominions and other territories aforesaid of His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces.

(4) The provisions of subsections (2) and (3) of this section shall apply in relation to the air forces of His Majesty, not being Indian air forces, as they apply in relation to His Majesty's military forces, subject, however, to the necessary adaptations, and, in particular, as if—

(a) for the references to the Army Act there were substituted references to the Air Force Act; and

(b) for the reference of Part II of the Third Schedule to this Act there were substituted a reference to part III of that Schedule.

Naval Forces

13. (1) In the application of the Naval Discipline Act to His Majesty's naval forces, other than Indian naval forces, references to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's ships shall

not, as from the appointed day, include references to His Majesty's Indian navy or the ships thereof.

(2) In the application of the Naval Discipline Act by virtue of any law made in India before the appointed day to Indian naval forces, references to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's ships shall, as from the appointed day, be deemed to be, and to be only, references to His Majesty's Indian navy and the ships thereof.

(3) In section ninety B of the Naval Discipline Act (which, in certain cases, subjects officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to the law and customs of the ships and naval forces of other parts of His Majesty's dominions) the words 'or of India' shall be repealed as from the appointed day, wherever those words occur.

Provision as to the Secretary of State and the auditor of Indian Home Accounts

14. (1) A Secretary of State, or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1946, is hereby authorised to continue for the time being the performance, on behalf of whatever government or governments may be concerned, of functions as to the making of payments and other matters similar to the functions which, up to the appointed day, the Secretary of State was performing on behalf of governments constituted or continued under the Government of India Act, 1935.

(2) The functions referred to in subsection (1) of this section include functions as respects the management of, and the making of payments in respect of, government debt, and any enactments relating to such debt shall have effect accordingly.

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as continuing in force so much of any enactment as

empowers the Secretary of State to contract sterling loans on behalf of any such Government as aforesaid or as applying to the Government of either of the new Dominions the prohibition imposed on the Governor-General in Council by section three hundred and fifteen of the Government of India Act, 1935, as respects the contracting of sterling loans.

(3) As from the appointed day, there shall not be any such advisers of the Secretary of State as are provided for by section two hundred and seventy-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that section, and any provisions of that Act which require the Secretary of State to obtain the concurrence of his advisers, are hereby repealed as from that day.

(4) The Auditor of Indian Home Accounts is hereby authorised to continue for the time being to exercise his functions as respects the accounts of the Secretary of State or any such other Minister of the Crown as is mentioned in subsection (1) of this section, both in respect of activities before, and in respect of activities after, the appointed day, in the same manner, as nearly as may be, as he would have done if this Act had not passed.

Legal Proceeding by and against the Secretary of State

15. (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, and, in particular, notwithstanding any of the provisions of the last preceding section, any provision of any enactment which, but for the passing of this Act, would authorise legal proceedings to be taken, in India or elsewhere, by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India or any part of India shall cease to have effect on the appointed day, and any legal proceedings pending by virtue of any such provision on the appointed day shall, by virtue of this Act, abate on the appointed day, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this subsection, any legal proceedings which, but for the pasing of this Act, could

have been brought by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India, or any part of India, shall instead be brought—

(a) in the case of proceedings in the United Kingdom, by or against the High Commissioner;

(b) in the case of other proceedings, by or against such person as may be designated by order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of the Act or otherwise by the law of the new Dominion concerned,

and any legal proceedings by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any such right or liability as aforesaid which are pending immediately before the appointed day shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner or, as the case may be, the person designated as aforesaid:

Provided that, at any time after the appointed day, the right conferred by this subsection to bring or continue proceedings may, whether the proceedings are by, or are against, the High Commissioner or person designated as aforesaid, be withdrawn by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions so far as that Dominion is concerned, as any such law may operate as respects proceedings pending at the date of the passing of the law.

(3) In this section, the expression 'the High Commissioner' means, in relation to each of the new Dominions, any such officer as may for the time being be authorised to perform in the United Kingdom, in relation to that Dominion, functions similar to those performed before the appointed day, in relation to the Governor-General in Council, by the High Commissioner referred to in section three hundred and two of the Government of India Act, 1935; and any legal proceedings which, immediately before the appointed day, are the subject of an appeal to His Majesty in Council, or of a petition for

special leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council, shall be treated for the purposes of this section as legal proceedings pending in the United Kingdom.

Aden ..

16. (1) Subsections (2) to (4) section two hundred and eighty-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935 (which confer on His Majesty power to make by Order in Council provision for the government of Aden) shall cease to have effect and the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, (which authorise His Majesty to make laws and establish institutions for British Settlement as defined in those Acts) shall apply in relation to Aden as if it were a British Settlement as so defined.

(2) Notwithstanding the repeal of the said subsections (2) to (4), the Orders in Council in force thereunder at the date of the passing of this Act shall continue in force, but the said Orders in Council, any other Orders in Council made under the Government of India Act, 1935, in so far as they apply to Aden, and any enactments applied to Aden or amended in relation to Aden by any such Orders in Council as aforesaid, may be repealed, revoked or amended under the powers of the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945.

(3) Unless and until provision to the contrary is made as respects Aden under the powers of the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, or, as respects the new Dominion in question, by a law of the Legislature of that Dominion, the provisions of the said Orders in Council and enactments relating to appeals from any courts in Aden to any courts which will, after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions, shall continue in force in their application both to Aden and to the Dominion in question, and the last mentioned courts shall exercise their jurisdiction accordingly.

Divorce Jurisdiction

17. (1) No court in either of the new Dominions shall by virtue of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Acts,

1926 and 1940, have jurisdiction in or in relation to any proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage, unless those proceedings were instituted before the appointed day, but, save as aforesaid and subject to any provision to the contrary which may hereafter be made by any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by any law of the Legislature of the new Dominion concerned, all courts in the new Dominions shall have the same jurisdiction under the said Acts as they would have had if this Act had not been passed.

(2) Any rules made on or after the appointed day under subsection (4) of section one of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, for a court in either of the new Dominions shall, instead of being made by the Secretary of State with the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor, be made by such authority as may be determined by the law of the Dominion concerned, and so much of the said subsection and of any rules in force thereunder immediately before the appointed day as require the approval of the Lord Chancellor to the nomination for any purpose of any judges of any such court shall cease to have effect.

(3) The reference in subsection (1) of this section to proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage include references to proceedings for such a decree of presumption of death and dissolution of a marriage as is authorised by section eight of the Matrimonial Clauses Act, 1937.

(4) Nothing in this section affects any courts outside the new Dominions, and the power conferred by section two of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, to apply certain provisions of that Act to other parts of His Majesty's dominions as they apply to India shall be deemed to be power to apply those provisions as they would have applied to India if this Act had been passed.

Provisions as to Existing Laws, Etc.

18. (1) In so far as any Act of Parliament, Order in Council, order, rule, regulation or other instrument passed or made before the appointed day operates otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions, references therein to India or British India, however worded and whether by name or not, shall, in so far as the context permits and except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide, be construed as, or as including, references to the new Dominions, taken together, or taken separately, according as the circumstances and subject matter may require:

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as continuing in operation any provision in so far as the continuance thereof as adapted by this subsection is inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Act other than this section.

(2) Subject to the provision of subsection (1) of this section and to any other express provision of this Act, the Orders in Council made under subsection (5) of section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935, for adapting and modifying Acts of Parliament shall, except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide, continue in force in relation to all Acts in so far as they operate otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the New Dominions.

(3) Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, the law of British India and of the several parts thereof existing immediately before the appointed day shall, so far as applicable and with the necessary adaptations, continue as the law of each of the new Dominions and the several parts thereof until other provision is made by laws of the Legislature of the Dominion in question or by any other Legislature or other authority having power in that behalf.

(4) It is hereby declared that the Instruments of Instructions issued before the passing of this Act by His Majesty to the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces lapse as

from the appointed day, and nothing in this Act shall be construed as continuing in force any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, relating to such Instruments of Instructions.

(5) As from the appointed day, so much of any enactment as requires the approval of His Majesty in Council to any rules of court shall not apply to any court in either of the new Dominions.

Interpretation, Etc.

19. (1) References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or other act done on or after the appointed day, be construed—

(a) where the order or other act concerns one only of the new Dominions, as references to the Governor-General of that Dominion;

(b) where the order or other act concerns both of the new Dominions and the same person is the Governor-General of both those Dominions, as references to that person; and

(c) in any other case, as references to the Governor-General of the new Dominions, acting jointly.

(2) References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or other act done before the appointed day, be construed as references to the Governor-General of India within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, and so much of that or any other Act as requires references to the Governor-General to be construed as references to the Governor-General in Council shall not apply to references to the Governor General in this Act.

(3) References in this Act to the Constituent Assembly of a Dominion shall be construed as references—

(a) in relation to India, to the Constituent Assembly, the first sitting whereof was held on the ninth day of December, nineteen hundred and forty-six, modified—

i) by the exclusion of the members representing Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and British Baluchistan; and

ii) should it appear that the North-West Frontier Province will form part of Pakistan, by the exclusion of the members representing that Province; and

iii) by the inclusion of members representing West Bengal and East Punjab; and

vi) Should it appear that, on the appointed day, a part of the Province of Assam is to form part of the new Province of East Bengal, by the exclusion of the members there for representing the Province of Assam and the inclusion of members chosen to represent the remainder of that Province;

(b) in relation to Pakistan, to the Assembly set up or about to be set up at the date of the passing of this Act under the authority of the Governor-General as the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan:

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as affecting the extent to which representatives of the Indian States take part in either of the said Assemblies, or as preventing the filling of casual vacancies in the said Assemblies, or as preventing the participation in either of the said Assemblies, in accordance with such arrangements as may be made in that behalf, of representatives of the tribal areas on the borders of the Dominion for which that Assembly sits, and the powers of the said Assemblies shall extend and be deemed always to have extended to the making of provision for the matters specified in this proviso.

(4) In this Act, except so far as the context otherwise requires—

references to the Government of India Act, 1935, include references to any enactments amending or supplementing that Act, 1935, include references to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946;

'India', where the reference is to a state of affairs existing before the appointed day or which would have existed but for the passing of this Act, has the meaning assigned to it by section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935;

'Indian forces' includes all His Majesty's Indian forces existing before the appointed day and also any forces of the new Dominions;

'pension' means, in relation to any person, a pension whether contributory or not, of any kind whatsoever payable to or in respect of that person and includes retired pay so payable, a gratuity so payable and any sum or sums so payable by way of the return, with or without interest thereon or other additions thereto, of subscriptions to a provident fund;

'Province' means a Governor's Province;

'remuneration' includes leave pay, allowances and the cost of any privileges or facilities provided in kind.

(5) Any power conferred by this Act to make any order includes power to revoke or vary any order previously made in the exercise of that power.

Short Title

20. This Act may be cited as the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

SCHEDULES

First Schedule

Bengal Districts Provisionally included in the New Province of East Bengal

In the Chittagong Division, the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tippera.

In the Dacca Division, the districts of Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh.

In the Presidency Division, the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad and Nadia.

In the Rajshahi Division, the districts of Bogra, Dinaj-pur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi and Rangpur.

Second Schedule

Districts Provisionally included in the New Province of West Punjab

In the Lahore Division, the districts of Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura and Sialkot.

In the Rawalpindi Division, the districts of Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur.

In the Multan Division, the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargarh.

Third Schedule

Modifications of Army Act and Air Force Act in Relation to British Forces

PART I

Modifications of Army Act Applicable Also to Air Force Act

4. The proviso to section forty-one (which limits the jurisdiction of courts-martial) shall not apply to offences com-

mitted in either of the new Dominions or in any of the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day.

2. In section forty-three (which relates to complaints), the words 'with the approval of the Governor-General of India in Council' shall be omitted.

3. In subsection (8) and (9) of sections fifty-four (which amongst other things, require certain sentences to be confirmed by the Governor-General in Council), the words 'India or', the words 'by the Governor-General, or, as the case may be' and the words 'in India, by the Governor-General, or, if he has been tried' shall be omitted.

4. In subsection (3) of section seventy-three (which provides for the nomination of officers with power to dispense with courts-martial for desertion and fraudulent enlistment) the words 'with the approval of the Governor-General' shall be omitted.

5. The powers conferred by subsection (5) of section one hundred and thirty (which provides for the removal of insane persons) shall not be exercised except with the consent of the officer commanding the forces in the new Dominions.

6. In subsection (2) of section one hundred and thirty-two (which relates to rules regulating service prisons and detention barracks) the words 'and in India for the Governor-General' and the words 'the Governor-General' shall be omitted except as respects rules made before the appointed day.

7. In the cases specified in subsection (1) of section one hundred and thirty-four, inquests shall be held in all cases in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of that section.

8. In section one hundred and thirty-six (which relates to deductions from pay), in subsection (1) the words 'India or'

and the words 'being in the case of India a law of the Indian legislature', and the whole of subsection (2), shall be omitted.

9. In paragraph (4) of section one hundred and thirty-seven (which relates to penal stoppages from the ordinary pay of officers), the words 'or in the case of officers serving in India the Governor-General' the words 'India or' and the words 'for India or, as the case may be' shall be omitted.

10. In paragraph (12) of section one hundred and seventy-five and paragraph (11) of section one hundred and seventy-six (which apply the Act to certain members of His Majesty's Indian Forces and to certain other persons) the word 'India' shall be omitted wherever it occurs.

11. In subsection (1) of section one hundred and eighty (which provides for the punishment of misconduct by civilians in relation to courts-martial) the words 'India or' shall be omitted wherever they occur.

12. In the provisions of section one hundred and eighty-three relating to the reduction in rank of non-commissioned officers, the words 'with the approval of the Governor-General' shall be omitted in both places where they occur.

PART II

Modifications of Army Act

Section 184B (which regulates relations with the Indian Air Force) shall be omitted.

PART III

Modifications of Air Force Act

1. In section 179D (which relates to the attachment of officers and airmen to Indian and Burma Air Forces), the words 'by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India

or, as the case may be', and the words 'India or', wherever those words occur, shall be omitted.

2. In section 184B (which regulates relations with Indian and Burma Air Forces) the words 'India or' and the words 'by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India or, as the case may be', shall be omitted.

3. Sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph (4) of section one hundred and ninety (which provides that officers of His Majesty's Indian Air Force are to be officers within the meaning of the Act) shall be omitted.

Change of Viceroy

The House will wish to know of an announcement which is being made public today. Field Marshal the Right Honourable Viscount Wavell was appointed Viceroy in 1943, after having held high military command in the Middle East, South-East Asia and India with notable distinction since the beginning of the war. It was agreed that this should be a war-time appointment. Lord Wavell has discharged this high office during this very difficult period with devotion and a high sense of duty. It has, however, seemed that the opening of a new and final phase in India is an appropriate time to terminate this war appointment. His Majesty has been pleased to approve, as successor to Lord Wavell, the appointment of Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten, who will be entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India. The change of office will take place during March. The House will be glad to hear that His Majesty has been pleased to approve the conferment of an earldom on Viscount Wavell.

1947

220. *Population of those parts of the Punjab which should have been included in Pakistan as they had Muslim majorities, but which were given to India under the award of the Boundary Commission, whose chairman was Sir Cyril Radcliffe.*

	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus and Sikhs	
1. Gurdaspur District	1,153,511	589,889	512,316 (this includes 50,000 scheduled castes)	
2. Ajnala Tahsil of Amritsar Distt.	224,707	141,406	83,301	(including Indian Christians)
3. Hoshiarpur Tahsil	323,945	145,985	134,960	(do)
4. Dasuya Tahsil	258,298	132,105	113,193	(do)
5. Nakodar Tahsil	228,224	135,918	85,306	(do)
6. Jullundur Tahsil	457,740	226,623	168,117	(do)
7. Ferozpore Tahsil	283,510	160,337	123,173	(do)
8. Zira Tahsil	203,067	137,586	61,881	(do)

9. A part of Kasur in Lahore district, a Muslim majority district and Tahsil.
10. And the strip of Muslim majority area in Ludhiana district on both sides of the Sutlej, which was never claimed by Muslims as it cut into Hindu territory.

1947

221. Text of the first issue of the Gazette of Pakistan, dated August 15, 1947.

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

Cabinet Secretariat

Resolution

Karachi, the 15th August 1947

No. 1-B|CF|47.—Order: Ordered that the following Proclamation be published in the Gazette of Pakistan:

Whereas-Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has been appointed by His Majesty to be the Governor-General of Pakistan, the said appointment is hereby notified and it is proclaimed that the said Governor-General of Pakistan has this day assumed his office.

Order : Ordered that this Proclamation be read at the head of the troops in the different garrisons and at the principal naval, military and air force stations.

Ordered that a copy of the Proclamation and copies of the foregoing orders be sent for information to the Ministries of the Government of Pakistan, whence such orders as may be necessary will be issued forthwith.

Ordered that information of the accession of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to the office of Governor-General of Pakistan be sent to the Provincial Governments of East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind, the North-Western Frontier Province and the Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan.

Notification

Karachi, the 15th August 1947

No. 1-B|CF|47.—Whereas His Excellency the Governor-General has been graciously pleased to appoint.

1. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
2. Mr. I. I. Chundrigar
3. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad
4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
5. Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan
6. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal
7. Mr. Fazlur Rahman

to be Ministers of the Government of Pakistan, it is hereby notified that the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Hon'ble Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, the

Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, the Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal and the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman have on the forenoon of this day taken upon themselves the execution of their office.

Mohammad Ali,
Secretary General.

1947

222. Text of second issue of the Gazette of Pakistan dated August 15, 1947.

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

Cabinet Secretariat
Notifications
Karachi, the 15th August 1947

No. 1-C|CF|47.—The Governor-General has been pleased to direct that the Government of Pakistan will have the following Ministries :-

1. Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.
2. Defence.
3. Finance.
4. Communications.
5. Commerce, Industries and Works.
6. Food, Agriculture and Health.
7. Interior, Information and Education.
8. Law and Labour.

There will be a Secretary to the Government of Pakistan in each Ministry.

There will be a Secretary-General to the Government of Pakistan with the duty of co-ordinating the work of the Secretaries in the Ministries. The Secretary-General will also be

Secretary to the Cabinet. In the performance of his duties the Secretary-General will be responsible to the Prime Minister.

S. Osman Ali,
Deputy Secretary.

No. 1-D|CF|47.—The Governor General has been pleased to make the following distribution of portfolios :-

1. Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister (i) Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. (ii) Defence.

2. Mr. I. I. Chundrigar—Commerce, Industries and Works.

3. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad—Finance.

4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar—Communications.

5. Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan—Food, Agriculture and Health.

6. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal—Law and Labour.

7. Mr. Fazlur Rahman—Interior, Information and Education.

Mohammad Ali,
Secretary General.

INDEX

Abdoola Haroon, Haji Sir, 227
Abdul Aziz, 55
Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Qadri, 228
Abdul Hamid, 410
Abdul Hamid Khan, 54, 280
Abdul Hamid Khan, Sultan of Turkey, 123
Abdul Hasham, 410
Abdul Khaliq Saheb, Maulana, 198
Abdul Majid Khan, Col., 14
Abdul Majid Qureshi, 54
Abdul Matin Choudhry, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92
Abdul Matin Choudhri, Begum, 318.
Abdul Quadir, Shaikh, 332
Abdul Qaiyum. Nawab Sir, 83
Abdul Raoof, Syed, 15
Abdur Rahim, 14, 40
Abdur Rahim, Sir, 332
Abdur Rahman Sidiqi, 164, 193
Abdur Rauf Shah, Syed, 164 228
Abdus Salam Khan, Munshi, 15
Adamji Pirbhai, Sir 23, 331
Aftab Ahmad Khan, Sahabzada, 15
Aga Khan, H. H. Sir, 5, 14, 24, 50, 88, 124, 127, 129
Agha Mohammad Safdar, 52
Agra, 331
Ahmad Ibrahim Sahib, K. T., 280
Ahmad Mohiuddin Khan, 14
Ahmedabad, 58, 137
Ainuddin Saheb, Haji Mohammad, 137
Aiyar, Krishnaswami, 37
Aiyar, Srisheshdari, 37
Ajmal Khan, Hakim Mohammad, 14, 23, 293, 332
Akbar, 83
Akhtar, Begum, 318
Akhtar Hasan, 137
Akhtar Mohammad Khan, Begum, 318
Akram Khan Sahib, Maulana, 198
Akram, Justice Abu Saleh Mohammad, 541, 555
Alexander, A. V., 412

Ali Imam, Sir, 14, 37, 331
Aligarh, 15, 17, 18, 24, 58, 81, 332
Aligarh Municipality, 11
Allahabad, 14, 15, 86, 91, 163, 164, 304, 332
Allahdad Shah, Syed, 14
Allana, Mrs. J. G., 318
Alwar, His Highness the Maharajah of, 75
Ambedkar, Dr., 354
America, 78, 79
Amery, L. S., 385
Amir Hasan Khan, Syed, Nawab Bahadur, 14
Amjad Ali Saheb, 210
Amritsar, 14, 56, 331, 332
Amroha, 15
Anjum Ara, Begum, 319
Ansari, Dr. M. A., 332
Anwar Hidayatullah, Begum, 318
Arabs, 151
Arabic, 53
Aryan, 72
Asaf Ali, 55, 59
Asia, 151
Assam, 18, 100, 107, 108. 149, 318, 396, 469, 534
Atiya Begum, 137
Attlee, Lord, 397, 422, 438, 518
Aurangzeb, 83
Aurangzeb Khan, Saheb, 227, 328
Ayub Khan, Mir, 58
Azaz Rasool, Begum, 318
Azhar Ali Saheb, Munshi, 164
Aziz Ahmad Khan Sahib, 193
Bakhtiar Shah, Shahzada, 14
Baldev Singh, 335, 338
Baldwin, 76, 78
Balfour Declaration, 125, 161, 197
Baluchi, 53
Baluchistan, 71, 115, 116, 238, 319, 469, 534
Banias, 3
Banja Deo or Kanika, 40

Barkat Ali, Malik, 55, 59 69, 163
Basu, Bupendranath, 40
Beaverbrook, Lord, 78
Beck, 84
Belgian, 85
Belgium, 85
Bengal, 26, 41, 49, 71, 103, 107, 114, 145, 149, 164, 198, 227, 238, 326 330, 396, 469 532
Bengal, Eastern, 14, 18
Bengal Famine, 325
Bengali, 2, 14, 18, 53
Benn, Col, Wedgwood, 78
Berar, 105, 165
Bhikhanpur, 15
Bhopal, His Highness the Nawab of, 75
Bihar, 25, 41, 105, 107, 149, 164, 198, 227, 318, 395, 396
Bihar Tragedy, 513
Bilgrami, Syed Hasan, 24
Biswas, Justice C. C., 541, 555
Bohras, 14
Bokhari, Mrs., 319
Bombay, 14, 26, 41, 54, 57, 58, 79, 103, 106, 107, 135, 136, 137, 139, 164, 165, 184, to 192, 198, 222, 228, 255, 257, 274, 276, 310, 318, 322, 325, 331, 332, 396
Bose, Subhas Chandra, 183, 184 to 192
Brahui, 53
Broach, 15
Buddhists, 259
Burke, Edmund, 73
Burma, 299, 304
Cabinet Mission, 397, 411, 422, 436, 484
Calcutta, 14, 184, to 192, 239, 331, 332
Cambridge, 115
Canada, 118
Carnatic, 14, 16
Central Provinces, 26, 41, 105, 137, 149, 198, 228, 291, 319
Cerenacea, 325
Ceylon, 279
Chagla, M. C., 54

Charsaddah, 122
Charya, M., 48
Chesterton, G. K., 80
Chotu Ram, Sir Lala 335, 338
Chundrigar, Ismail, 137, 164, 228, 508, 593, 595
Churchill, Sir Winston, 305, 438 463, 464
Civil and Military Gazette, 527, 529
Connaught, Duke of, 84, 85
Cripps Proposals, 302
Cripps, Sir Stafford, 302, 412, 416, 440, 444, 446, 455
Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Sir, 137
Dacca, 15, 21, 22
Dadabhoy, M. B., 40
Daily Herald, 72, 75
Das C. R., 84
Daultana, Ahmad Yar Khan, Nawab, 137
Daultana Mumtaz, 339
Delhi, 48, 49, 50, 55. 59, 88, 141, 193, 204, 210, 220, 299, 315, 316, 317 to 325
331, 332, 408, 538
Deliverance Day, 222
Din Mohammad, Justice, 541, 547
East Africa, 58
Eastern Times, 138
East India Company, 84
Ebrahim Bhoy Adamji Peerbhoy, 14
Enayatulla Saheb, Malik, 163, 198
England, 72, 88
English, 3
Etawah, 15
Fateh Ali Khan Qazelbash, Hon'ble Nawab Haji Mohammed, 15
Fazli Husain, Sir 123, 124
Fazlul Haque, Hon., 224, 227, 332
Fazlur Rahman, 593, 595
French, 85
Gaekwar of Baroda, His Highness, 75
Gandhi, M. K. 77, 79, 84, 85, 126, 127, 128, 154, 222, 232, to 236, 243.
276, 341, 374, 383, 509
George, His Majesty, III, 79
George, His Majesty, V, 74, 79

Ghanzanfar Ali Khan. Hon'ble Raja, 137. 410, 508, 593, 595,
Ghiasuddin Saheb, 164
Ghulam Hasan Sahib, 164
Ghulam Mohammed, 593, 595
Ghulam Mohammad Ali of Arkat, H. H. Sir, 331
Ghulam Mohammad Bhurghri, 332
Ghulam Rasool, 146
Ghulam Sadik, Shaikh, 14
Gibbon, 51
Gidney, Col., 75
Great Britain, 79
Gujrati, 53
Gurdaspur, 138
Habibishah, Syed, 55
Habib Shah, Syed Habib, 88
Habibulla, 163
Habibulla, Begum, 318
Habibur Rahman Khan, Maulvi, 15
Hakim, Mrs., 318
Hallet, M. G., 135
Haque, Mazharul, 40
Haroon, Begum, 318
Hasan Khan Sahib, S. M., 165
Hasan Riaz Sahib, 165
Hasrat Mohani, Maulana, 164, 193, 332
Hastings, Warren, 16
Hazara, 15
Hidayat Hussain, K. B. Hafiz, 332
Hosain Imam, Hon'ble. 137, 152,
Huda, Sir Shamasul, 37
Hussain M. Malik. Begum, 319
Husain Mian Saheb, Shah, 198
Ihtisham Ali, Munshi, 14
Ikramullah, Mrs. 319
Inayatullah Khan, 122
Indian Independence Act, 1947, The, 565 to 591
Iqbal, Allama, 69, 87, 95, 112, 122, 123, 125, 138, 140, 141, 143, 146, 147, 148, 149, 205, 332, 380
Iqbal Day, 379, 380

Iraq, 59
Irwin, Lord 76, 78
Ismail Khan, Haji Mohammed, 15
Ismail Khan Saheb, Nawab, 227
Ispahani, Begum M., 318
Ispahani, Mrs. Karim, 319
Italy, 325
Jahandad, Khan Bahadur Raja, 15
Jairajbhoy, Begum, 318
Jamalud-Din, Afghani. 123
Jayakar, 77, 79
Jerusalem, 72
Jesus Christ, 80
Jews, 150, 161, 197, 259, 315
Jinnah, Miss, Fatima, 318
Jinnah, Quaid-e-Azam 40, 52, 54, 70, 86 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 124, 135 to 148, 152, 183 to 192, 222, 228, 274, 276, 325, 331, 332, 333, 336, 337, 338, 340. 341, to 379, 383, 390, 408, 411, 468, 471, 484, 491 to 510, 513, 515, 538, 542
June Third Plan, 530, 538
Kakori, 14
Kamal Attaturk, 204
Karamat Husain, Nawab Syed, 15
Kamaluddin, Mrs., 319
Kamini Kumar Chanda, 40
Karachi, 23, 58, 81, 327, 331, 332
Karam Ali Sahib, Maulana, 198
Karamat Ali Sahib Sheikh, 328
Karimur Raza Khan Saheb, 165
Karnatic, 50
Kashmir, 56, 115, 119, 316
Kashmir Darbar, 56
Kashmiri, 53
Kasimbazar, 40
Kasim, Mir Ghayasuddin Peerzadah, 15
Kazaks, 299
Kenya, 58
Khairi Brothers, 99

Khairi, Jabbar, 49
Khairi, Sattar, 49 198
Khairpur, 14
Khalifa, 5
Khaliquzzaman Saheb, Choudhari, 164, 224, 227, 328
Khattak, Mohammad Aslam Khan, 122
Khilafat, 82
Khilafat Delegation, 82
Khizr Hayat Khan, Malik, Tiwana, 334, 336, 337 to 341
King Emperor, 5
Kitchlu, Dr., 239
Krishna Sahay, 40
Kshtriyas, 3
Kutubuddin Abdul Wali Saheb, 193
Lahore, 14, 15, 54 to 56, 59, 88, 137, 139, 140, 141, 144, 146, 147, 148, 228, 332, 373, 529
Lahore Resolution, 342, 359, 360
Lala Lajpat Rai, 240
Laljee, Hoosainbhoy, 58
Lari, Z. H., 329
Lebanon, 325
Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum, 319
Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada, 135, 411, 484, 488, 508, 593, 595
Libya, 325
Lucknow, 15, 25, 40, 152, 331, 332
Ludhiana, 1
MacDonald, Sir Ramsay, 74, 95
Madras, 14, 26, 41, 50, 54, 100, 107, 149, 154, 228, 279, 332, 395, 396
Mahajan, Justice Mehr Chand, 541, 548
Mahomed Ali Mahomed, 40
Mahmudabad, Raja Amir Ahmad Khan, 165, 210
Mahmud of Ghazni, 83
Majithia, Sirdar Sunder Singh, 40
Malak, Maulana H. M., 14
Malaya, 299, 304
Malayalam, 53
Mamdot, Nawab of, 339
Mandal, Jogendra Nath, 508, 593, 595
Manoharlal, Sir, 335

Marhattas, 3
Mushir-ud-Doula Mumtaz-ul-Mulk, 14
Mazharuddin, Maulvi, 54, 193, 198
Mazharul Haq, 235
Meerut, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210
Mehdi Ally Khan, Syed, 15
Mian Mohammed Shah Din, Hon'ble, 14
Minto, Lord, 5, 15
Mirza Mohammad Said, Prof., 124
Mohammad Aalam, Dr., 228
Mohammad Ali, Begum, Maulana, 228, 318
Mohammad Ali, Choudhri, 594, 595
Mohammad Ali, Maulana, 72, 331
Mohammad Husain, Begum, 319
Mohammed Hussain, Khalifa Syed, 14
Mohammad Yakoob, Sir, 332
Mohamedan University, 13
Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab, 4, 15
Moonje, Dr., 72, 79, 80, 82 83
Moore, Sir Arthur, 501
Morley, Lord, 24
Mosul, 59
Mountbatten, Admiral the Viscount, 591
Mufti Mohammad Sadiq, 88
Muhammad Ismail Khan, Nawab, 411, 484
Mukerjee, Justice Bijankumar, 541, 555
Munir, Justice Mohammad 541, 547
Murshidabad, 14
Musa Khan, Haji Mohammad, 24
Mushtaq Husain, Maulvi, 15
Muzammil Ullah Khan, Mohammed 15, 24
Mymensingh, 14
Mysore, 50
Nabi Ullah Syed, 14, 331
Nagpur, 14, 331
Nair, Sir Sankaran, 37
Nandy, Namindra Chandra, 40
Narasimheswara Samra, B, 40
Naseer Hussain Khan Khayal, 14

Nawab Ali, Chowdhury, 14
Nawab Ali, Nawab Syed, 40
Nazimuddin, Hon. Sir Khwaja, 224 305
Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal, 77 78, 126, 127, 128, 129, 142, 143, 509, 513
Nehru, Motilal, 84
Nishtar, Hon'ble Abdur Rab, 328, 411, 484, 508, 593, 595,
Nizami, Hamid, 329
Noon, Hon'ble Sir Feroz Khan. 410
Noorbhai Dadonwalla, Mulla, 137
North-West Frontier Province, 53, 71, 106, 115, 116, 145, 149, 154, 238, 319, 328, 396, 496, 533
Oman, 72
Omar Daraz Beg, 113
Omar Hayat Khan, Malik, Hon'ble, 14
Orissa, 105, 107, 149, 396
Oriya, 53
Ottowa, 91
Oudh, 2, 14, 50
Oxford, 72, 79, 81
Padshah, Hon'ble, S. M. 305
Pakistan Day, 336
Pakistan Resolution, 226, 228
Pakistan Zones, 410
Palestine, 150, 151, 197, 198, 324
Palestine Arabs, 147
Parsees, 259
Patiala, 5
Patna, 14, 197, 205, 228 332
Peel, Lord, 73, 77
Persian, 53
Peshawar, 55
Pethick-Lawrence, Lord, 411
Pir Tajuddin, 56
Poona Agreement, 130
Prasad, Babu Rajendra 234
Punjab, the, 12, 14, 24, 26, 41, 70, 71, 84, 105, 107, 133, 116, 119, 146. 149. 153. 154, 198. 210. 228, 318, 328, 329. 396, 469, 527 529 532
Punjabi, 53
Punjab National Bank, 529

Pushtu, 53
Qazi Muhammad Isa Khan, Begum. 319
Qazi Muhammad Isa Khan Saheb, 228
Quadian, 88
Queen, 4
Radcliffe Award, The 547 to 564
Radcliffe, Cyril, 551, 558, 564
Rafiuddin Ahmed, Maulvi, 14
Rahilla Khatoon, 318
Rahimtoola, Sir Ibrahim, 40, 92, 331
Rahman Justice S.A., 541, 555
Rahmat Ali, Choudhary, 115, 122
Rajagopalchari, 353
Rangaswamiengar, K. V,, 40
Rampur. 15
Ranjit Singh, 83
Rao, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath, 37
Rao, Sir T. Madhava, 37
Rathermere, Lord, 78
Raza Ali, Sir Syed, 198, 318, 334
Razaullah Beg, Mrs., 318
Reading, Lord, 74. 77
Rewa, H. H. The Maharajha of, 73
Round Table Conference, 72
Roy. Sita Nath, 40
Russia, 121
Sadiq, Mohammad, of Amritsar, 56
Saiduddin, Mrs., 318
Salahud-Din, Sultan. 150
Salar Jung, Sir, 37
Salimulla, Nawab of Dacca. 15, 21, 23, 331
Sapru, Sir Tej Bahadur, 40. 77, 86, 274, 276
Saracen, 72
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Nawab. 14
Sayed Ahmad Khan, Sir, 1, 2. 17. 21
Semite, 72
Shafaat Ahmad, Dr., 129
Shafi, Sir Mian Mohammed, 14, 86, 331
Sharfuddin, Maulvi, 14

Shahabuddin, Begum, 318
Shah Din, Justice, 24
Shahid Hussain, Shaikh, 15
Shahidganj Mosque, 137, 163
Shaikh Mohammad Sadiq, Sahibzada, 122
Shamshul Hasan Saheb, 164
Shahnawaz, Begum, 410
Shaukat Ali, Maulana, 193
Shaukat Hayat Khan, Sardar, 411
Shujaat Ali Beg, Mirza, 14
Sialkot 54
Siddique Ali Khan, Begum, 318
Sikandar Hayat, Sir, 140, 147, 224
Sikhs, 3, 104, 106, 108
Simla, 16
Simla Formula, 494
Simon Commission, 59
Sind, 396, 533
Tamil, 53
Tamizuddin Khan, Saheb, Hon'ble, 329
Teja Singh, Justice, 541, 548
Telugu, 513
Tennyson, Lord, 73
Tiwana, 14
Tolstoy, 80
Tripoli, 231
Turkey 59
Turks, 151
Unionist Party, 139 233, 339
United Provinces, 15, 26, 41, 104, 149, 163, 164, 165, 227, 228 328, 329, 396
Urdu, 4. 51, 164
Viqaqr-ul-Mulk, Nawab, 21, 22
Virendranath Chathopadyahya, M. M., 48
Wadia, D. E., 40
Wahab, Begum, 319
Wardha, 186
Wasim, Begum, 318
Wavell, Lord, 381, 385, 389, 392, 433, 465, 491 to 501, 502 to 513, 591